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ENOCH PRATT AS PATRON OF EDWARD S. BARTHOLOMEW, SCULPTOR

By ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

FEW people think of Enoch Pratt, Baltimore iron and coal merchant, financier, and donor of a magnificent public library, as a patron of art; yet to Enoch Pratt must go the credit for sponsoring the young American sculptor, Edward Sheffield Bartholomew. A packet of letters written by Enoch Pratt in the 1850's, two letters by Bartholomew and several old diaries found tucked away in the corner of an old battered trunk, overlooked and forgotten since 1882,¹ shed new light on the last years of Bartholomew's short life while he was a member of the flourishing colony of American artists then residing in Rome and Naples.

Born in 1822, young Bartholomew lived in Hartford, Con-

¹ These manuscripts are in the possession of the author. They are described in an article by William Stump, "Enoch Pratt Treasure Trove," Baltimore *Sunday Sun* Magazine, Sept. 16, 1956.

necticut. He is said to have been tall and dark, and of striking appearance, but with a nature so shy that he found it difficult to meet strangers. Restless and unhappy at home, he went to New York for a year's study at the "Antique and Life School" of the Academy of Design. Returning to Hartford he continued his art studies while working as curator of the Wadsworth Gallery. To his bitter disappointment it was discovered that he was color-blind, a serious defect in an artist. As a small boy he had loved to model in clay, so he now turned to another medium—sculpture. Again he journeyed to New York to attend lectures in anatomy, but misfortune struck a second time. Now he lay ill of smallpox which left him in such a weakened condition that he contracted a laming hip infection. Heretofore a vigorous and handsome young man, he remained for the rest of his short life unwell and a cripple.

At some period during the 1840's Enoch Pratt met Edward Bartholomew, a fellow New Englander, and in 1850 supplied young Bartholomew with a sizable sum of money which enabled him to go to Rome to study. Bartholomew applied himself particularly to bas-relief, studying under Luigi Ferrari, a well-known Italian sculptor. The first year was one of struggle and discouragement, but slowly he began to win recognition. Neo-classic in the treatment of his subjects, his style of sculpture was much admired by contemporary Americans. He used both classical and biblical themes and was fond of introducing unnecessary, though picturesque, accessories in his works. His execution was not always adequate, but he was making great strides in correcting this shortcoming. In time, he might possibly have risen to greater heights as a sculptor.

Bartholomew subsequently made only two trips back to America. On the first one he superintended the erection in the chapel at Doughoregan Manor of his monument to Charles Carroll of Carrollton which Carroll's grandson had commissioned him to execute in 1853 as a memorial to his illustrious ancestor, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

In 1855 Enoch Pratt went on the European "Grand Tour." While in Rome he visited his protégé at his studio, No. 108 Via Margutta. My great-grandfather, John Knight, a retired cotton merchant from Natchez, Mississippi, was then wintering in Rome with his wife and daughter. Pratt and Knight were close friends,

and evidently Pratt had persuaded my great-grandfather to patronize Bartholomew. In John Knight's diary, under the date of February 19, 1855, appears the following entry: "Went to Bartholomew's studio and saw him moulding his 'Paradise Lost' (being Eve, the Serpent & apple). Also saw there Pratt's 'Shepherd Boy' in marble, finished."

To decorate the new town residence he had built at Park Avenue and Monument Street (now part of the Maryland Historical Society building), Enoch Pratt brought back with him from this trip several marble figures by Bartholomew.² Among these were: "Campaspe" and the "Shepherd Boy," now at the Peabody Institute; the busts of William Ellery Channing and of Henry Payson, gifts to the First Unitarian Church from Pratt, a staunch member of the congregation; and the bust of Pratt himself which, at present, searchingly scrutinizes all who alight from the elevators on the second floor of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Also at this time, the frugal and far-sighted Pratt commissioned Bartholomew to execute for him a tombstone—a tall pagoda-like shaft of red Scottish marble—under which he now lies buried in Greenmount Cemetery. Since Pratt lived until 1896 he had a good forty years in which to enjoy his own monument.

Under February 21, 1856, appears the notation in Mrs. Knight's diary that she sat for her bust that day in Bartholomew's studio. The following day Fanny, my grandmother, then a young lady of eighteen, had her first sitting. On December 31, 1856, Bartholomew wrote to Knight, who was then traveling:

The busts are in beautiful marble and I have no doubt but will give you perfect satisfaction. I intend to go to America in the spring and hope then to see you. Rome is beginning to fill up with strangers, and the season promises to be a good one for artists. My studio looks much better than it did last winter and attracts a great deal of attention. I shall miss your influence. Carnival commences this year on the 14 February and apartments and hotels are filling up. The expense of living here is one fourth more than it was last winter, in fact many are deterred from coming to Rome on account of the dearness of everything. There are more Russians than of any other nation as this is the first year that permission has been

² The Maryland Historical Society owns a plaster bust of Millard Fillmore (1800-1874) by Bartholomew; a marble bas-relief of James Howard McHenry (1820-1888) portrayed in the character of Homer by Bartholomew in Rome, 1852; and a bas-relief of William George Read (1828-1878) in the character of Belisarius executed in Rome in 1853.

granted *free* to the subjects of Russia to leave their country. Sixty thousand Russian passports have been signed since the war closed. From the police report at Paris there are thirty thousand Americans in Europe.

From Baltimore, August 13, 1857, Pratt wrote to Knight: "We have no information of the whereabouts of Mr. Bartholomew. We have been looking for him by every steamer and think he should be here soon, as he wrote he should leave Rome this summer as he was afraid to trust his health. We hope Mr. Bartholomew will get some orders if he comes here, as he needs them. You will no doubt aid him as you did before." In September Bartholomew arrived in Baltimore and stayed for a month at the home of Pratt.

Per Steamer "Arabia" from N. Y. to Liverpool
Baltimore November 23, 1857

John Knight, Esq.
Rome, Italy

Dear Sir:

Mr. Bartholomew was to leave in the steamer that takes this, but we fear will not get off as he has been detained by a public dinner at Hartford. He goes home with a good list of orders and I consider him now on a fair road to fame and fortune and reaping his just reward. He expects to stop in London and take the bust of Mr. Peabody. He is rather too modest in trying to sell. A person has to work hard in these days of competition to sell anything, and sculpture can't be excepted.

Yours Respectfully,

E. Pratt & Brother

On the second day of April the Knight family arrived in Naples, after a four-day trip from Rome. Fanny, writing to a young cousin in Frederick, Maryland, said:

Mr. E. S. Bartholomew, the artist who executed our busts, accompanied us to Naples from Rome. For some weeks previous to our departure he had been seriously indisposed, and Pa invited him to take a seat in our carriage, thinking that the change of air and scene and freedom from business would be beneficial. He had been suffering from a severe inflammation of the throat, accompanied by excessive debility. On the road he became so very much exhausted that we feared he would not reach his place of destination, and as he was not in a condition to be left alone, we remained a week longer in Naples than we would have done, until some of his friends arrived from Rome, and in whose charge we left him. His throat had decidedly improved but his debility rather increased. The

Doctor who thought the air of Naples would be of service to him began to think that it was too exciting and that it would be advisable for him to return to Rome as soon as his strength would permit. Mr. B. is very much depressed and thinks he never will recover. Poor man! It is truly sad that he should be so afflicted just at the time when his prospects of fame and fortune were brightest. He received a great many large orders for monuments this winter, among them an order from Mr. Howard of Baltimore to execute a monument to be placed over his wife and children in Greenmount Cemetery, but his present condition has prevented him from executing them as yet. His 'Paradise Lost,' (a most beautiful statue representing Eve after the Fall) is to be sent away this spring, and should any of you visit Philadelphia, be sure to see it as it is one of the most remarkable works of art in Rome. I suppose his statue of Washington to be placed in the niche of the "Washington Building" on Market St. [now Baltimore St.] has reached Baltimore ere this.

In her diary Fanny, at Prague, noted on June 9th: "Today we were told by a courier that Mr. Bartholomew is dead!" When Enoch Pratt learned of the sculptor's death he wrote the following letter to my great-grandfather:

Per Steamer "Africa" N. Y. to Liverpool
Baltimore June 7, 1858

John Knight, Esq.
C/o Geo. Peabody Co. London

Dear Sir:

The Mail brought us a letter announcing the death of our friend Bartholomew which, as you may well suppose, was a great shock, as we had not heard of his illness. We don't know what to do with his affairs. He has plenty of property in his studio, and if any honest man will undertake to wind it up, there will be something left for his mother, after paying me what he owes me. We are sorry you are not in Rome so we could have your advice. His statue of "Eve" is sold to Mr. Harrison of Philadelphia for \$5000 and that will pay all he owes in Rome. We now think it will be best to have all his other works packed up and sent to New York where his friends could see they were properly sold.

Respectfully Yours,

E. Pratt & Brother

Fanny had proceeded from Prague to St. Petersburg by July 27, but the death of Bartholomew was still on her mind. She wrote in her diary on that day:

The news of Mr. Bartholomew's death must have been a great blow to Mr. Pratt (a great benefactor of Mr. B.'s), as well as to his poor widowed mother, for neither of them had heard of his illness when the intelligence

was received that he was no more. It is exceedingly sad after such years of sorrow and disappointed hope, as many a poor young artist experiences, Mr. B. should be called away just at the time when fortune seemed to smile on him. Alas! he had taken his last look of the "Eternal City" and left it never to return!

On March 24, 1859, Pratt again wrote to John Knight about Bartholomew.

Mr. Bartholomew's statue of "Eve" has arrived in Philadelphia and is being exhibited by Mr. Harrison for the benefit of Mr. Bartholomew's mother. It is universally admired and attracts great attention, as does the "Washington" in this city. The only regret is Mr. Bartholomew did not live to enjoy his fame.

The "Washington" referred to in the correspondence is the imposing white marble statue standing near the Madison Avenue entrance of Druid Hill Park in Baltimore. Before it came to stand on its present high granite base, the representation of our first President graced the front of the old "Washington Buildings" which housed the clothing firm of Noah Walker & Co.³ This emporium, situated at what was then 165 and 167 West Baltimore Street, was Baltimore's largest and best-known dry goods and clothing store from the 1850's to the 1870's. Noah Walker, the owner, ordered and bought the statue for \$6,000 from Bartholomew. The statue was prominently displayed in a third floor niche, and at night was handsomely illuminated by a circle of gas-lighted stars. When the building was sold in the 90's, the family of Noah Walker gave the statue to the city of Baltimore and Enoch Pratt provided the pedestal on which it now stands in Druid Hill Park. This was another generous gesture on the part of Pratt as patron of the sculptor.

³ See James C. Bertram's article, "The Man Behind the Statue," in the *Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine*, Oct. 7, 1956.

FRANCO-AMERICAN TOBACCO DIPLOMACY, 1784-1860

By BINGHAM DUNCAN

FRANCO-AMERICAN diplomatic relations between the Revolution and the Civil War are usually told as a number of largely unrelated events that occurred at varied intervals. Citizen Genet's indiscretions, the XYZ affair, the Louisiana Purchase, Napoleon's interference with commerce, the negotiation of the Treaty of 1822, and Jackson's handling of the spoliation claims, are the events commonly treated. To these should be added the long, tedious, never finished effort of the United States diplomats to break France's state tobacco monopoly and thereby further open France to exports of this southern staple crop. The efforts to increase tobacco sales in France were, at first, part of an attempt to end American commercial dependence on Great Britain. Later efforts coincided with low prices in the mid-thirties and the late 'fifties. Throughout the period Americans felt that monopolies in general were evil, and that the French tobacco monopoly was especially so, in that it was harmful to an important American export commodity. In the seventy-five years from 1785 to 1860, of the score of ministers and *chargés d'affaires* who represented the United States in France, ten were concerned in some way with attempts to weaken or eliminate the tobacco monopoly. Five of the secretaries of state who served during the same years noted the harmful influences on American trade exerted by the monopoly. In the later decades of the period Congress became concerned about the effect of monopolies on tobacco exports to France and other countries.

Efforts to increase French imports of American leaf began soon after Great Britain's formal recognition of the independence of the United States. In the decade following the American Revolution a fourth of all American tobacco sold abroad went to

France. The proportion had dropped to some seven per cent by the end of the Napoleonic Wars but rose thereafter, and at the middle of the nineteenth century the proportion was about fifteen per cent.¹ These low percentages aggravated Americans who knew that Frenchmen consumed five times as much tobacco as they purchased from the United States. In May, 1784, the youthful James Monroe, in a newsy letter to Thomas Jefferson who had recently departed for France, said,

It is certainly necessary something sho'd be done respecting the restraint on tob^o. in France, to extricate it from the monopoly of the Farmers gen^l. contrary in my opinion to the spirit of the treaty, but I am not sufficiently inform'd on this subject to take it up & wish y'r. advice.²

Jefferson was fully aware of the problem and was already working to remove obstacles that prevented the development of a free market. Increased sales of American tobacco to France would at once improve the economic position of the tobacco regions and decrease American commercial dependence on Great Britain. Old habits and connections and better credit facilities made it easier for Americans to trade in England than in France,³ but these factors were of secondary importance. The essential block to increased trade with France was the institution of the Farmers-General, which controlled all movement of tobacco into and within France.

The French tobacco monopoly had been, with minor interruptions, an almost uniquely stable source of revenue for the state for more than a century. From the time of Richelieu traffic in tobacco had been heavily taxed, and in 1674 the control of tobacco imports was taken over by the state. During the next quarter of a century the operation of the monopoly was turned over to private interests under arrangements which brought upwards of a quarter of a million livres annually into the state treasury. After going through various changes the monopoly was, in 1721, leased to the Farmers-General. The Farmers retained control of the growth, manufacture, and sale of tobacco in France until the Revolution

¹ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, D. C., 1933), II, 760, 1035-36.

² Stanislaus M. Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe* (New York, 1898-1903), I, 29-31.

³ Frederick L. Nussbaum, "American Tobacco and French Politics, 1783-1789," *Political Science Quarterly*, XL (1925), 498.

destroyed the system. By the time of Jefferson's mission the Farmers were entrenched as a powerful bureaucracy with a complete juridical organization, and were paying more than thirty million livres a year to the state.⁴ It was this organization that stood in the way of an expanded import of American tobacco into France.

Within a few weeks of Jefferson's appointment as Minister the Farmers-General further restricted the freedom of the trade by agreeing to secure American tobacco through a single agent, Robert Morris.⁵ Under a contract that was signed early in 1785 Morris was to act as an agent and was to supply to the Farmers-General 20,000 hogsheads of tobacco in each of the three years from 1785 through 1787. The financial arrangements had the effect of holding the price of tobacco down in the United States, but it was the rigid control and the elimination of competition that Americans attacked first.

Jefferson sought to stir up opposition to the French system wherever he could. His correspondence in 1785 and 1786 includes numerous letters condemning the practices of the Farmers-General and arguing that American tobacco exports to France would be increased many times if the monopoly were eliminated. These or similar sentiments were addressed to the governors of Virginia and of Maryland, to James Monroe, John Adams, John Jay, the Count de Vergennes, and others.⁶ Jefferson followed up his written complaints with positive action. He managed to enlist the cooperation of Lafayette, of Vergennes and Rayneval, and of several interested merchants. The Frenchmen were motivated by a desire to increase Franco-American commerce and were influenced by a dislike for the ultra-conservative and all powerful Farmers-General. As a result of Jefferson's representations Lafayette propose the establishment of a group to make a general examination of the commercial relations between France and the United States. Vergennes supported the proposal and early in 1786 the so-called American Committee was formed under the Controller-General, Calonne.⁷ Using arguments supplied by Jefferson,

⁴ Prosper Gayvallet, *Le Monopole du Tabac en France* (Tonneins, France, 1905), pp. 379-395.

⁵ Nussbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

⁶ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. Monticello Edition. (Washington, D. C., 1904), V, 7-8, 34-35, 68-76, 252-55, 301-302, 320-21, 324, 325-33, 344-45, 354-57, 450-54.

⁷ Nussbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 504-505.

Lafayette attacked the tobacco monopoly in the committee. On this point he received sympathy and some agreement but little support. The effort not only failed to weaken the monopoly, but the Farmers were able to have their contract with the state renewed while the committee was sitting.⁸

The terms of the contract between the Farmers-General and Robert Morris, however, were more pliable and opponents of the monopoly gained some ground in their efforts at this point. The American Committee felt that the contract was harmful to the trade and so to the economic groups in France and America who grew, bought, sold, and shipped tobacco. On the basis of this thinking the Committee recommended cancellation of the contract.⁹ The Farmers successfully resisted outright cancellation but the Committee had sufficient strength to force a compromise. In a meeting at Bernis, the château of Controller-General Calonne, the committee worked out a limitation. The Morris contract was to stand but similar bargains were prohibited for the future. Further, the monopoly of purchase in the original contract was weakened by a provision that in addition to the tobacco supplied by Morris some twelve to fifteen thousand hogsheads could be purchased annually by the Farmers on the open market to build up a reserve.¹⁰ Calonne and Vergennes were agreed and the conclusion of the committee was given the character of a decision of the Council.¹¹

In practice the compromise meant little. The Farmers controlled all the machinery for making purchases and for bringing in imports and could not be forced, without drastic measures, to buy tobacco that they did not want. The Morris contract ended in December, 1787, and the Bernis decision prevented any renewal or further similar agreement. Jefferson continued his opposition to the Farm *per se* but was only able to get a commitment that the Bernis decision would be continued until the Farm's contract expired five years later.¹²

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 506-507. Nussbaum feels that the Farm was in some danger of being limited by the government at this time. This is doubtful. The Farm was not at the height of its power in 1786, but it was far too powerful to be affected seriously by mere argument.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 509; Beatrix C. Davenport, ed., *A Diary of the French Revolution by Gouverneur Morris* (Boston, 1939), I, 159, note.

¹¹ Nussbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 511, 514-15. Nussbaum concludes that the constricting hold of the Farmers-General on the tobacco trade severely limited the ability of Americans to pay for French goods. This, he thinks, was a deciding factor in preventing the

When Jefferson left France in 1789 to enter upon his duties as Secretary of State the Farmers-General were still firmly established within the structure of the economic system, and it seemed that nothing short of the break-up of the old regime could destroy the institution.

That part of the old regime represented by the tobacco monopoly was destroyed in a decree of February 14, 1791, over the protests of Dupont de Nemours, Mirabeau, Necker, l'abbé Maury, and others.¹³ The decree was adopted after many weeks of consideration. Arguments were advanced in committees and in open debate on all aspects of the tobacco trade, on the philosophical implications of monopolies, on the alleged harm done the soil of France by growing tobacco, and on the connection between tobacco and liberty.¹⁴ American interest in the elimination of the monopoly had no influence on the adoption of the decree, although l'abbé D'Abbecour felt that the American trade was a factor to be considered as new regulations were developed.¹⁵

While the debates were in progress and as the end of the monopoly approached, William Short represented the United States in France. He had been Jefferson's secretary, his French was excellent (an advantage not possessed by all later American Ministers), and he was familiar with the tobacco discussions. He predicted that the Assembly would permit French farmers to grow tobacco, and he hoped that foreign varieties might be allowed to enter France at a low duty. So far as his opportunities permitted, Short continued Jefferson's efforts to promote the interests of American planters and merchants interested in the trade.¹⁶ Short could not be made minister and Gouverneur Morris was appointed to the post early in 1792. Morris cared little for the planters or for an expanded trade. He had gone to France in 1788, and "a large part of Gouverneur's foreign errand was to repair damage done to Robert Morris through Jefferson's agency

development of a Franco-American commercial relationship that might have replaced the old Anglo-American trade arrangements. This idea was held by Jefferson and was at least partially accepted by many, if not most, Americans who attempted to expand the trade in the nineteenth century.

¹³ Gayvallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-403.

¹⁴ *Gazette National ou Le Moniteur Universel*, III, 1315-1316 (Nov. 14, 1790), 1317-1318 (Nov. 15, 1790), 1326 (Nov. 17, 1790); IV, 126-127 (Jan. 31, 1791).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 1315-1316 (Nov. 14, 1790).

¹⁶ Myrna Boyce, "The Diplomatic Career of William Short," *Journal of Modern History*, XV (1943), 97-119; Davenport, *op. cit.*, II, 130-31.

in the tobacco decisions at Bernis."¹⁷ Long before he became minister Morris discussed tobacco contracts with various French financiers, many of whom were creditors of Robert Morris or of the United States, or both.¹⁸ These discussions were held in 1788 and 1789 and came to nothing, since the Farmers-General were destroyed before the Bernis agreement ran out. As did Short, Morris watched proceedings in the Assembly closely. He hoped for a low duty, and predicted that the French would abolish restrictions on the culture of tobacco in France, would lose revenues thereby, and would then prohibit the culture of tobacco in France and establish an income through import duties.¹⁹ He was partly correct, for the *decret-loi* of February 14, 1791, established freedom of culture, manufacture, and sale of tobacco throughout France. At the same time leaf imports were taxed and imports of most forms of manufactured tobacco were prohibited. In the ensuing years the revenue from tobacco fell off sharply,²⁰ but the system of free culture was retained.

During the next two decades the duties on leaf were gradually raised and some discrimination established in favor of French vessels.²¹ By 1810 tobacco taxes were bringing some fourteen millions of francs into the French treasury annually, less than half the tobacco revenue paid by the Farmers-General. Budgetary necessity forced a re-examination of fiscal policy. A *decret-loi* of December 29, 1810, provided for the restoration of the monopoly and formed the fundamental basis for the tobacco administrative office, the *régie*, of the nineteenth century.²²

For a generation after Jefferson's failure to weaken the French tobacco monopoly, that issue remained dormant, while the State Department gave primary attention to the larger problems of political relationships. It was not until after the spoliation claims treaty was signed that the tobacco trade was again given emphasis by the Americans.

None who represented the United States in France during the

¹⁷ Davenport, *op. cit.*, I, xvi-xvii.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 4, 26, 55.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 132-34.

²⁰ Gayvallet, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

²¹ Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 763; *Le Moniteur*, IV, 252 (Mar. 3, 1791); Gayvallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-405. During the continental blockade the taxes reached 440 (in foreign vessels) and 396 (in French vessels) francs, but these imports were prohibitive rather than fiscal measures. *Ibid.*, p. 404.

²² Gayvallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 403, 405-406.

two decades to 1810 was concerned with the trade.²³ Nor did Americans take note of the French moves to re-establish the monopoly. John Armstrong, who headed the legation from 1804 to 1810, "was a pleasant mannered, somewhat ineffectual gentleman" who was unable to cope with the problems that faced him in Paris.²⁴ So far as his reports show he had no interest in tobacco.²⁵ Armstrong departed in September, 1810, leaving the much abler Jonathan Russell as chargé d'affaires. Russell took no notice of the discussions in the French chambers that led to the re-establishment of the monopoly. Indeed, the only indication that any American official was aware of the debate was contained in an exchange of notes between Secretary of State Robert Smith and General Turreau, the French Minister in Washington, in December of 1810. Smith asked several questions about commerce and Turreau included in his reply a sentence suggesting that France might soon modify the prohibition against American cotton and tobacco.²⁶ Probably those who were aware of the role of the *régie* in Franco-American trade felt as did Albert Gallatin. When Gallatin went to Paris as minister in July, 1816, his chief concern was as to whether the condition of French finances would stand the payment of any spoliation indemnity in view of the reparations recently imposed on France by the European powers.²⁷ Writing to James Monroe from Paris in July, 1817, Gallatin assumed that there was no possibility of altering the *régie*: "The system of raising a large revenue on the consumption of tobacco, by a monopoly of its manufacture and a partial cultivation of the plant in France, opposes an insuperable barrier to any beneficial

²³ Gouverneur Morris, James Monroe, C. C. Pinckney, Robert Livingston, John Armstrong, and Jonathan Russell, headed the legation in France from 1792 through 1810. They showed no interest in tobacco. During the two decades the Department of State did not instruct any of these men to consider the tobacco trade as such. The continental system affected tobacco only as cargo, in the same way that any other cargo was affected.

²⁴ Beckles Willson, *America's Ambassadors to France, 1777-1927* (London, 1928), p. 93. Armstrong's tenure is briefly described in pp. 93-101.

²⁵ Gouverneur Morris' correspondence through 1794 is printed in part in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (Washington, 1833), I, 329-412. Hereafter cited *A. S. P., F. R.*

²⁶ General Turreau to Robert Smith, Dec. 12, 1810, *A. S. P., F. R.*, III, 401. There was no prohibition as such. The tonnage tax of 400 francs the hundred kilograms, however, was prohibitive. See John Armstrong to Smith, Dec. 27, 1810, *ibid.*, III, 403, for a list of duties.

²⁷ Richard A. McLemore, *Franco-American Diplomatic Relations, 1816-1836* (University, Louisiana, 1941), p. 4.

change in the existing regulations respecting the tobacco of the United States."²⁸

That the barrier was insuperable was to be disputed many times by Gallatin's successors. There was no doubt, however, of the value of the monopoly to the French treasury. Receipts averaged more than thirty million francs a year from 1812 to 1816,²⁹ the greatest income from this source since the destruction of the Farmers-General. In the years following the re-establishment of the monopoly the French chambers continued to discuss and to strengthen the controls by which tobacco was made to yield greater revenues.³⁰ Americans made no efforts to oppose these new controls, although Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Baron Hyde de Neuville touched on the subject in 1821 when they discussed the commercial convention that was signed the following year. Adams summarized de Neuville's attitude, "As to giving up the *régie* for the sale of tobacco, that was out of the question; it was part of an extensive system important to the revenue."³¹ However, when French diplomats asked for lower duties on their wines and for increased rates on China silks, Adams reminded them that Americans disliked the *régie* and the requested changes were not made.³²

²⁸ Gallatin to Monroe, No. 36, Paris, July 11, 1817, Henry Adams, ed., *The Writings of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), II, 38-40. Gallatin rarely mentioned tobacco. When he did it was usually as a factor in the general Franco-American trade. He was more concerned with shipping as an industry than with trade in any particular product. See Gallatin to J. Q. Adams, No. 124, Paris, 25 Oct. 1819, *ibid.*, II, 122-25; No. 143, Paris, 27 Apr. 1820, II, 140; No. 151, Paris, July 5, 1820, II, 148-50; and *A. S. P., F. R.*, V, 32-33.

²⁹ Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 763; *Journal des Economistes*, XXXI, 351, cited in Willis H. Walker, *Franco-American Commercial Relations: 1820-1850* (Hayes, Kansas, 1928), p. 89. Re-establishment of the tobacco monopoly was accompanied by the resurrection of other elements of the system of indirect taxation which the Revolution had abolished. "... the indirect taxes, *les droits réunis*, on the use of tobacco, salt, and liquors furnished, along with the customs duties, forty per cent of the state's income in 1813," Leo Gershey, *The French Revolution and Napoleon* (New York, 1934), pp. 459-60.

³⁰ See Jerome Mavidal and E. Laurent, et al, (directors), *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*. 2^e Sér. (Paris, 1862-1913), XII, 616-26, 755-57, for discussions of the monopoly and of proposals to strengthen the system. Gayvallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-415, mentions the principal laws passed.

³¹ Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848* (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), V, 350. The convention was beneficial to American shippers in that tonnage duties were more favorable than previously to vessels of the United States. The tobacco trade was hardly affected, even indirectly, by the treaty, since tonnage duties on cargoes of tobacco at this time were a minor item in the price of the staple. Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

³² Gallatin to J. Q. Adams, June 23, 1821, and Sept. 26, 1821, *Writings of Gallatin*, II, 183-86, 199-203.

The signing of the Convention of 1822 left the spoliations claims as the principal issue between America and France. This matter and other old problems, including fishing rights, and French privileges in certain Louisiana ports, were called to the attention of James Brown, who succeeded Gallatin as minister in 1823 and remained in France until 1829. Brown's instructions did not include any mention of tobacco,³³ despite the fact that Americans sent an average of less than 6,000 hogsheads a year to France during the 1820's, of a total annual average export of more than 82,000 hogsheads.³⁴

The claims question remained uppermost into the administration of Andrew Jackson, but throughout the 'thirties the tobacco trade came increasingly to the fore as a matter of diplomatic concern until not only France's restrictions but those of all Europe received close American attention.

Secretary of State Martin Van Buren wrote three letters of instruction to Jackson's first Minister to France, William C. Rives, on July 20, 1829. These comprised some forty-odd pages of advice in which but three sentences concerned tobacco. Van Buren said that France was buying less American tobacco each year and implied that the falling off was due to policies pursued by the *régie*.³⁵ The minister, as instructed, devoted most of his first year in France to the spoliations claims. In the first six months after his arrival in Paris he had at least six meetings with Prince Polignac, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. The claims were uppermost in Rives' mind during these conferences and other topics were discussed only in general terms. If tobacco was mentioned at all Rives did not report it to Van Buren.³⁶ Indeed, Rives was so engrossed with the various aspects of the spoliations claims that a move to restrict even more the purchase of foreign leaf for France almost escaped his notice. In the early summer of 1830 French financiers proposed that all tobacco for the *régie* be purchased by one contractor rather than by several. This change threatened to establish a monopoly even tighter than the old

³³ See United States Ministers, Instructions, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D. C., 10, 11, 12, which include the instructions to James Brown from Nov. 18, 1823, through June 23, 1829.

³⁴ Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 760, 1035.

³⁵ Van Buren to Rives, July 20, 1821, Nos. 1, 2, 3, Instructions, France, 14.

³⁶ See Rives' despatches to Van Buren from Sept. 1829 through Feb. 1830; especially No. 5 of Nov. 7, 1829, No. 8 of Dec. 17, 1829, and No. 11, of Jan. 16, 1830, Despatches, France, 24.

Morris arrangement had been, since the 1830 proposal would have one contractor purchase from all countries. A single purchaser would, of course, be able to select his own markets and within limits set his own prices. No single seller or nation of sellers could do other than accept the terms offered by a such a buyer. By the time Rives heard of the scheme, in mid-July, it was virtually French law, needing only the approval of the Minister of Finance, the Baron Montbel. Upon learning of the plan to establish the "monopoly upon a monopoly" Rives called on Montbel to protest, and, at the Finance Minister's suggestion put the protest on paper. Within a few days the events of the July Revolution brought about changes in the government and Rives hopefully sent copies of his argument to Comte Molé and to Baron Louis, the new Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Finance.⁸⁷ Despite other changes brought about by the July Revolution, the tobacco monopoly remained unaffected. Comte Molé acknowledged Rives' communication immediately, saying only that the American position was being considered. Two weeks later Baron Louis told the American minister that after mature examination the one-lot plan, the, "monopoly upon a monopoly," had been approved.⁸⁸

It is plain from the correspondence that Rives had given little if any thought to the problems of the tobacco trade, and that he did not understand the operation or the significance of the *régie*. His arguments were similar to some made by Jefferson forty years earlier. Both contended that the monopoly arbitrarily and unnecessarily limited the quantity of American tobacco imported by France. Rives, however, let it go at that. In the summer of 1830 he had some talks with Lafayette about French politics and thus had a unique opportunity to discuss the history of the place of tobacco in Franco-American trade. Rives probably did not know of Lafayette's role in the discussions of 1785 and 1786, and there is no evidence that the men talked about tobacco.⁸⁹ The

⁸⁷ Rives to Montbel, July 20, 1830, enclosed in Van Buren to Rives, Aug. 18, 1830; the notes to Molé and to Louis are dated Aug. 18 and are enclosed in Rives to Van Buren, Sept. 8, 1830, Despatches, France, 24.

⁸⁸ Rives to Van Buren, Sept. 8, 1830, with enclosures, Despatches, France, 24. France imported an average of more than 7,000 hogsheads of American tobacco a year in the five years preceding the establishment of the one-lot plan; less than 5,000 hogsheads were imported annually from 1831 through 1833. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁸⁹ In 1830 the tobacco *régie* was contributing about 6% of the revenues received

American Minister went forward with his principal assignment and completed negotiation of the treaty that obligated France to pay the United States twenty-five million francs in settlement of the spoliation claims. The treaty included provisions lowering American duties on French wines and lowering French duties on long staple cotton from the United States,⁴⁰ but there was no reference to tobacco, and no provision in the treaty applied directly to that staple.

The omission of tobacco from the treaty was partly offset by the instructions of Rives' successor. In May, 1833, in a move partly intended to strengthen the administration's foreign policy, Edward Livingston, who had succeeded Van Buren as Secretary of State, was shifted from that department to the legation in France and Louis McLane became Secretary of State. McLane signed the letters of instruction to Livingston in June, and in a section on commercial relations the new secretary singled out the tobacco trade for special comment. He noted that there had been a serious drop in tobacco exports to France, and instructed Livingston to make every effort to improve the situation.⁴¹ The secretary pointed out that by an act of Congress of March 2, all French manufactures having silk as a component part would be admitted to the United States duty free after the end of 1833. In addition, after 1833, duties on all other French products were to be gradually lowered to a uniform twenty per cent level. Livingston was authorized to suggest that these benefits, some of which discriminated against other countries in favor of France, should result in French favors, including a modification of the effect of the *régie* on American

by the French government. Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-90. The tobacco factories employed some 16,000 laborers in ten factories and twenty *entrepôts*. The flow of tobacco through these factories and through 350 wholesale and 30,000 retail outlets was supervised by some 13,000 officials. The capitalization of the *régie* at this time has been estimated at 200 millions of francs and its annual profits at nearly 450%, *ibid.*, 89-90. Such an organization could only be influenced by forces much greater than any at Rives' disposal.

⁴⁰ The treaty is printed in David Hunter Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America, 1776-1863* (Washington, D. C., 1931-48), III, 77-90. For brief comment see Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), p. 456, and William B. Hatcher, *Edward Livingston, Jeffersonian Republican and Jacksonian Democrat* (University, Louisiana, 1940), p. 414.

⁴¹ McLane to Livingston, June 3, 1833, Instructions, France, 14. Rives remained in France until Sept., 1831, and when he departed left Nathaniel Niles in charge of the mission. Jackson delayed the appointment of a new minister until the spring of 1833 for domestic political reasons. Hatcher, *ibid.*, p. 415; Willson, *op. cit.*, p. 179; McLemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

tobacco.⁴² Livingston was instructed to present this idea to the French government and to obtain a commitment if possible. If the French were not amenable to the suggestions, Livingston was to inform the Secretary of State and the President in time for retaliatory action to be taken before the act of March 2 went into effect.⁴³ This authorization constituted a far stronger weapon for negotiation than had been available to any of Livingston's predecessors. Had he been interested in the trade or had he known of the effects of the *régie's* practices on American exports he might have accomplished much. As it was he let the chance slip by. In October and November, when he discussed the trade with French officials, he only learned that the *régie* contract still had three years to run and that there was some opposition to its renewal. Livingston simply reported these facts to McLane and made no attempt to go further into the question.⁴⁴ As Rives had been, Livingston was mainly concerned with the spoliations claims.⁴⁵ Other things that occupied him were the possibilities of commercial arrangements with some of the Italian states, inadequate funds for the conduct of legation affairs, and Paris social life.⁴⁶

These distractions occupied his attention through 1834. Even when the Chamber of Deputies, beginning December 1, debated at length the extension of the *régie*, Livingston apparently took no notice of the proceedings.⁴⁷ In the Chamber, led by M. Humann, Minister of Finance, supporters of the *régie* proposed to continue the monopoly for twelve years beyond the expiration date of 1835. Opposition to the move was weak and irresolute.⁴⁸ At the end of December, 1834, a commission that had been appointed to consider tobacco legislation made its report, recommending the extension of the monopoly to 1842, seven years instead of the usual five but not the twelve year continuation proposed by the Finance Minister.⁴⁹ Some changes in the manner in which the *régie* operated on French tobacco growers were recommended. Debate on the new laws began on January 5, 1835, in the Chamber

⁴² McLane to Livingston, June 3, 1833, Instructions, France, 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Livingston to McLane, Dec. 2, 1833, Despatches, France, 27.

⁴⁵ Hatcher, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁴⁶ Livingston to McLane, July 6, 1834, and Livingston to Forsyth, July 26, 1834, Despatches, France, 27.

⁴⁷ Willson, *op. cit.*, p. 189. *Archives Parlementaires*, 2^e sér. XCI, 118-20.

⁴⁸ *Le Moniteur*, Aug.-Dec., 1834, pp. 2145-46 (Dec. 2, 1834).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2323 (Dec. 30, 1834); *Archives Parlementaires*, 2^e sér. XCI, 400-404.

of Deputies and continued for four days. Some attempts were made to limit the life of the monopoly to one or two years or otherwise to weaken its hold on the industry, but without avail. One change favored American farmers and exporters. The old law had provided that when foreign and domestic tobaccos were mixed, in the manufacturing process, a minimum of four-fifths of the mixture must be leaf grown in France. Under the new law, a maximum of four-fifths of the mixture could be of French origin.⁵⁰ French practice as of the early 1830's was to use about five-sixths native to one-sixth foreign tobacco. Since the bulk of foreign leaf used at this time was from the United States the change made for an immediate, if slight, increase in the use of American tobacco. The new law passed the Deputies 237 to 72 on January 8, 1835, and was sent to the Peers.⁵¹ After referring the proposals to a committee, and later debating the committee report, the Chamber of Peers passed the measure 86 to 10 on February 9, 1835.⁵² The debates, the work of the Commission, and the passage of the law, all seem to have escaped Livingston's notice at the time.

The Minister's attention was held by new aspects of the claims problem. He knew in advance that Jackson's annual message, of December 1834, would include a statement on the claims but did not know how harsh a tone the President would take.⁵³ Reports of the famous message reached Livingston via newspapers that he received on January 7 and the President's statement was reported in the Paris press on January 8. The most critical period in Franco-American relations since the days of Napoleon I had begun, and for some time the American Minister's attention was fully absorbed by the reverberations of Jackson's speech. It was not until the end of January that Livingston found time to make a report on the new tobacco legislation. He said that he had opposed the *régie* on all proper occasions since his arrival in France and that his efforts had some possibility of bearing fruit. A parliamentary inquest was to be held, he said, and he thought it might produce a total abolition of the monopoly and also

⁵⁰ *Archives Parlementaires*, 2^e sér. XCI, 625.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 657.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XCII, p. 388.

⁵³ Livingston to Forsyth, Nov. 22, 1834, in Hatcher, *op. cit.*, p. 433. Willson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

might result in prohibiting the cultivation of tobacco in France.⁵⁴ The United States might make important gains, Livingston thought, in such a development as the elimination of the monopoly. To take full advantage of the situation would require concessions from the United States, and he wrote, "I must be authorized to offer a continuance of the discriminating duty, as it now exists, on China silks, perhaps an extension of time on that established by the treaty of 1831 on wines."⁵⁵ Thus, having lost the opportunity offered him in 1833 to use the threat of retaliation, Livingston now asked permission to try to gain the same ends by using inducements that were certainly less compulsive than the threats he had been authorized to make a year and a half earlier. His suggestion was not considered. The report arrived in Washington on March 9, as John Forsyth, now heading the State Department, was ordering him to obtain an explanation of an offensive note on the claims that M. Serurier, the French Minister in Washington, had handed to the administration. Forsyth brushed the tobacco matter aside: "With regard to the suggestion in your note [of January 31], in relation to the tobacco trade, and commercial relations with France, the president directs me to say, that no arrangement of any kind is to be thought of with France until provision is made fully to execute the treaty of 1831." The Secretary of State sent his note by the *Constitution*, which was to wait at Havre and bring back a satisfactory answer, or bring back the American Minister.⁵⁶

Unable to secure a satisfactory answer, Livingston left Paris late in April and returned to the United States in June on the *Constitution*. Thomas Barton, Livingston's son-in-law and Secretary of the Legation, remained as chargé d'affaires until November when he too departed, leaving the United States without diplomatic representation in France.⁵⁷

Forsyth's note instructing Livingston to drop the effort to gain concessions for American tobacco ended the first serious thought of challenging the monopoly since Jefferson's mission. Although Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, William C. Rives, and possibly others, had been aware of the potency of the *régie* as a force in the trade, none had seriously considered the kind of

⁵⁴ Livingston to Forsyth, Jan. 31, 1835, Despatches, France, 27.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Forsyth to Livingston, Mar. 9, 1835, Instructions, France, 14.

⁵⁷ Willson, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

effort made by Jefferson, contemplated by McLane in his instructions of June, 1833, and belatedly suggested by Livingston.

The cessation of effort, however, lasted no longer than the rupture of diplomatic relations. Within a few months of Barton's departure new schemes were afoot to promote tobacco sales. The new effort was not confined to the trade with France but was broadened to include that with England and nearly all of western Europe. The impetus for the increased and broadened effort came from political leaders and planters in tobacco states who made a series of moves designed to improve the position of their staple in international trade. The first measures were not coordinated, but interested groups eventually were able to set in motion a broad program of diplomatic support for the tobacco trade that had far reaching results. By 1840 the heads of virtually every American legation in Europe, and several special agents, had been ordered to become tobacco salesmen and promoters.

The first move in the new effort was made in the Senate in May, 1836, when Joseph Kent of Maryland offered a resolution asking the President to open negotiations with France in behalf of tobacco as soon as diplomatic intercourse was renewed. Kent's speech in support of his resolution showed that he was quite familiar with the general conditions of the trade in Europe, including the position of the *régie* in France. The resolution was passed but no action ensued during the remaining two months of the session.⁵⁸ In August a completely separate move was initiated by nineteen Maryland tobacco growers. These men, through the *Washington National Intelligencer*, invited "the Planters and Growers of Tobacco in Charles, St. Mary's, Calvert, Anne Arundel, Montgomery, and Prince George's Counties" to a convention.⁵⁹ The purpose of the meeting, called for August 22, was to ask the Maryland legislature to deal with a number of local problems made acute by falling prices. There was no hint in the notice that restrictions on exports to France or elsewhere were thought to be a cause of the low prices. At least one reader who saw the notice felt called upon to comment on the problem. This individual, signing himself simply "C," published a letter in the

⁵⁸ *Register of Debates in Congress*, XII, part II (24 Cong., 1 sess., 1835-36), 1381-82. Kent's resolution was noted in the *Richmond Enquirer* of May 6, 1836, but did not create widespread interest at the time.

⁵⁹ See Washington, D. C., *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 18, 19, 20, 1836.

National Intelligencer of August 24, 1836, in which he argued that the difficulty lay in high foreign duties and not in local conditions. The National Government, "C" thought, should do something to alleviate the restricting effects of foreign tariffs. Specifically, he recommended that the President should have American ministers initiate negotiations looking to lower tobacco duties. He went on to contrast the favored position of French silk and brandy in American markets with the unfavorable situation of American tobacco abroad. Whether or not "C's" letter was effective the ideas expressed in it were frequently used in later discussions of the trade.

The Maryland planters assembled in August and prepared resolutions condemning England and Europe, from France to Russia and Turkey, for their laws taxing and restricting tobacco imports. The planters urged their fellows in Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio, to meet with them in Washington on the first Monday in January to petition Congress for help in opposing the foreign restrictions. At a later meeting in Upper Marlboro, Maryland, shortly before Christmas, the tobacco men reiterated the August proposals.⁶⁰ Some planters met in Washington on January 2 and 3, 1837, but attendance was disappointing and a later gathering was arranged for the end of the month.⁶¹ Between the two meetings the Maryland legislature acted to build interest in the second one and to add weight to the expected actions of the convention. To these ends two members of the Maryland House of Delegates presented to that body memorials from their constituencies. The memorials asked Maryland's governor to seek the cooperation of other state governors in an effort to obtain through Congress a reduction of the duties imposed on tobacco by foreign nations. The memorials also instructed Maryland's representatives in the United States Senate and House of Representatives to press for national legislative attention to other needs of tobacco growers including a fair and equal participation in benefits to be derived from any tariff adjustment that might be made at the coming session of Congress.⁶² Maryland's House of Delegates adopted

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 26, 29, 1836.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 5, 1837. *Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 26, 1837.

⁶² House Executive Document 24, *Congressional Documents*, no. 383 (26 Cong., 2 sess., 1840-41, II). Sister Mary Anthonita Hess, *American Tobacco and Central European Policy: Early Nineteenth Century* (Washington, 1948), pp. 96-98. Dr. Hess treats the Maryland legislative acts without mention of activity in 1836. The

the resolution on January 19, 1837, and Governor Thomas W. Veazey informed the President, Maryland's representatives and senators, and the governors of other tobacco states, of the action.⁶³

The planters again met in Washington on January 30. James Barbour, a former governor of Virginia, presided and Daniel Jenifer, a member of Congress from Maryland, set the general tone of the meeting.⁶⁴ With little preliminary speechmaking the convention prepared a memorial and addressed it to the federal government. This Jenifer took directly to the floor of the House. On February 2 the House referred the memorial, and the resolutions sent earlier by the Maryland General Assembly, to a Select Committee, of which Jenifer was made chairman. The Committee included two representatives each from Maryland and Virginia and one each from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee and Missouri.⁶⁵ At the same time Joseph Kent presented a similar resolution in the Senate. Kent's resolution was referred to the Committee on Commerce, which had no important tobacco state membership, and there it died.⁶⁶ Jenifer, however, made the most of his opportunity. He had the good fortune to find in Washington the American Consul for Bremen, Joshua Dodge, who was probably better informed than any other American on the general subject of tobacco imports into Europe.⁶⁷ In a matter of days he produced for Jenifer a full report, complete with statistics and historical summaries, on the export of American leaf to foreign countries.⁶⁸ Writing from personal experience Dodge reviewed the condition of the trade in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Spain. His observations on the trade with France included the remark that

Maryland legislature, it should be noted, was partly concerned with local conditions, partly with the American tariff, and partly with foreign duties on tobacco. See Joseph C. Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom—Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860* (Durham, N. C., 1938), p. 123.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

⁶⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 24 Cong., 2 sess. (1836-37), IV, 149.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 17, 21, 147.

⁶⁷ Dodge's presence was a most fortunate coincidence for Jenifer, as the report added much weight to Jenifer's proposals. Dodge had requested leave in 1836 in order to visit the United States, but did not arrive until November or early December. His knowledge of the tobacco trade was based on his observations while serving as consul in Bremen. See [Consular] Despatches, Bremen, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D. C., vol. 3; Dodge to Forsyth, Mar. 29, 1836, July 7, 1836, and Aug. 6, 1836, deal with Dodge's leave of absence.

⁶⁸ Dodge's report is printed in Reports of Committees, no. 239, *House of Representatives*, no. 306, 24 Cong., 2 sess.

he believed the *régie* to be the principal deterrent to an increase in American exports to that country.⁶⁹ Jenifer's committee combined the Maryland legislature's resolutions, the Washington convention's memorial, and Dodge's paper. To these the committee added its own resolution asking the President to instruct American envoys in France, England, Russia, Prussia, Holland, and Germany, to negotiate for better trade conditions for tobacco. The President was also asked to appoint special agents to countries where the United States had no envoys. The resolution, with attachments, was reported to the House with the intention, on the part of the Select Committee, that it become a Joint Resolution.⁷⁰ The House adopted the resolution on February 28, 1837.⁷¹ Interested groups continued to encourage the tobacco promotion movement. In May planters in Maryland met and resolved that the President be asked to take early action on the House resolution. A committee took this request to President Van Buren, who said that the government was already acting.⁷² In September the widely read *Southern Agriculturist* published a letter from the tobacco firm of Riley and Van Amringe of Philadelphia indicating that the firm was wholly in accord with the planters' efforts.⁷³ This letter, written to Thomas Bowie, who had taken a leading part in the Maryland meeting, had been published earlier in the *Farmer and Gardener*.⁷⁴ The *Farmer's Register* also printed an account of the tobacco men's activities during January and February of 1837.⁷⁵

The various moves in behalf of the tobacco trade that took place late in 1836 and in 1837 did not grow out of the Franco-American trade problem. They were inspired by local conditions, but were influenced from the beginning by a widespread belief that foreign restrictions were somehow to blame for a lack of prosperity in the tobacco areas. As a result of the tobacco men's efforts, Secretary Forsyth on June 1, 1837, informed American agents in Europe of the Washington convention, of the Maryland resolutions, and of the House action, and told them to proceed

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Journal, *House of Representatives*, no. 300 (24 Cong., 2 sess., 1836-37), p. 456. Hess, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100. The report did not become a Joint Resolution as the Senate did not pass it.

⁷¹ *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 2 sess. (1836-37), IV, 213.

⁷² *Niles Register*, May 13, 27, LII (1837), 167-68, 195.

⁷³ *Southern Agriculturist and Register of Rural Affairs*, X (1837), 490.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Farmer's Register*, IV May 1836-Apr. 1837), 747-48.

accordingly. The instructions were sent to Henry Wheaton in Berlin, Auguste Davezac at The Hague, Nathaniel Niles in Vienna, Virgil Maxcy in Brussels, George Dallas in St. Petersburg, Andrew Stevenson in London, Christopher Hughes in Stockholm, and Jonathan Woodside in Copenhagen.⁷⁶ Instructions and information about the tobacco trade had already been sent to the Minister in France.

The United States was without a diplomatic representative in France for a year following Thomas Barton's departure from Paris in November, 1835. Relations were restored through the good offices of Great Britain in 1836. Lewis Cass, appointed in the fall, arrived in France in November and was received by Louis Philippe on December 1.⁷⁷ Cass was well occupied during his first winter in Paris with the problems of reopening the legation, finding lodgings for his family, attending to miscellaneous accumulated obligations, and with the necessity of reminding the French government that the interest due under the claims treaty was still unpaid. Tobacco became a matter of concern to him only after the Secretary of State brought the trade to his attention.⁷⁸ In May, 1837, Forsyth assembled and sent to Cass information about the principal moves that the emerging tobacco lobby had made since Livingston's departure from Paris in 1835. He sent Joseph Kent's Senate resolution of May 2, 1836, requesting that the tobacco trade be made an item of concern when diplomatic intercourse with France was renewed. He sent Daniel Jenifer's report on the trade, with the Select Committee's recommendation that it be adopted as a Joint Resolution. He informed Cass of the appropriation of money for the employment of special tobacco agents and for establishing new regular missions. The new missions, Forsyth thought, were authorized principally with the view of extending the tobacco trade. These actions, the Secretary believed, were the equivalent in intent of a Joint Resolution.⁷⁹ Forsyth also told the Minister something of the role of the *régie* in French commerce, and outlined earlier proposals for limiting its influence on American

⁷⁶ House Exec. Doc. 258, *Congressional Documents*, no. 328 (25 Cong., 2 sess., 1837-38, VIII); Hess, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 142-65. Dr. Hess considers the work of the tobacco agents in Central Europe, primarily in the German States and Austria. For the effort in England see Bingham Duncan, "The Tobacco Trade in Anglo-American Diplomacy, 1830-1850," *Emory University Quarterly*, V (1949), 48-55.

⁷⁷ Willson, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99.

⁷⁸ Forsyth to Cass, May 11, 1837, Instructions, France, 14.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

tobacco. Finally, Forsyth suggested that Cass sound out the Minister of Foreign Affairs. If he seemed cooperative, Cass was authorized to send an official note setting forth the injuries done to the United States by the *régie*.⁸⁰

When Forsyth's instructions arrived in Paris, Cass was in the Mediterranean on a six months cruise.⁸¹ Charles E. Anderson had been left in charge of the legation and he undertook to carry out the Secretary's instructions. Anderson's experience with the French Foreign Office was fairly typical of American work on the tobacco problem in France. While calling on Count Molé about another matter, the claims issue, Anderson brought up the subject of the tobacco *régie* and presented the by now usual American arguments. America, he said, had a liberal policy toward imports of French products; great harm was done to American tobacco producers by the restrictive features of the *régie*; a more liberal French policy would benefit both countries.⁸² Molé, of course, was not only thoroughly familiar with the *régie* and its relation to French economy, which Anderson was not, but he had been Minister of Foreign Affairs seven years earlier and at that time had been over precisely the same ground with William C. Rives. It is quite likely that Molé knew of Livingston's efforts along similar lines, although he and Livingston had not discussed the matter officially. Molé offered no rebuttal to Anderson's argument but the chargé reported that "he did not give me any reason to think that any modification of the French system was possible."⁸³ Molé did seem willing to discuss the general bases of a new commercial treaty between France and the United States, but such negotiations were beyond Anderson's authority.⁸⁴ To the time of Cass' return to Paris late in 1837, Anderson found no disposition on France's part to alter the *régie* system.⁸⁵ When the minister returned he reviewed Anderson's handling of the

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* Forsyth was somewhat hopeful. He felt that the opposition to the *régie* that Livingston had found, and the parliamentary inquiry that he had mentioned, might give Cass the kind of opening that Livingston predicted he (Livingston) would have. But Livingston was wrong. The French government used an 1834 report as the basis of its work in 1837, instead of authorizing a new study. Anderson to Forsyth, Oct. 30, 1837, Despatches, France, 28.

⁸¹ He probably received the letter while in Venice. See Anderson to Forsyth, June 15, 1837, *ibid.*

⁸² Anderson to Forsyth, Aug. 5, 1837, *ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Anderson to Forsyth, Oct. 30, 1837, *ibid.*

general affairs of the legation and found everything satisfactory. In his study of the tobacco question, Cass soon gained as sound an understanding of the matter as had any American minister to France. He learned that the *régie* was inextricably interwoven with France's revenue system and closely intertwined in important agricultural interests. Mere argument, Cass decided, could hardly induce the French to change the *régie*. The only possibility for change, he told Forsyth, lay in a general Franco-American trade convention.⁸⁶ Cass did not waste time fighting for what he felt was a lost cause, but the subject was not out of his mind. When, in 1839, Marshall Soult (Duc de Dalmatie) replaced Molé as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cass broached the subject of tobacco to the new Foreign Minister. Unexpectedly the Marshall encouraged Cass and in July the latter initiated negotiations by setting forth his version of the American position. Cass argued that the trade was important to the people of both countries and that both were injured by the system. Tobacco, he said, was not adapted to the soil and climate of France, and Frenchmen paid high prices for poor tobacco. Further, he contended, *régie*-sponsored restrictions on tobacco imports hurt exports of French products by denying Americans the means of paying for more silks and wines. In short, Cass held that increased trade and prosperity for both countries, as well as better tobacco for Frenchmen at lower prices, would result from the abolition of the *régie*. He asked the Foreign Minister to designate a person from whom further information could be obtained for use in preparing an extended statement.⁸⁷ Soult gave Cass access to the data he wanted and referred the request for a general discussion of the *régie* to the Ministers of Finance and of Commerce. The French government waited two months to reply to Cass. The message, sent by Soult for the government, was polite, reasonable, friendly, and unalterably adamant. In the first place, he said, the tobacco taxes were not restrictions but were revenue measures, the most important in France except for those on salt. Since the purpose was revenue, the level of the tax was limited only by the fear of limiting consumption. He reminded Cass that American tobacco could enter French ports in American vessels and duty free. Further,

⁸⁶ Cass to Forsyth, Jan. 25, 1838, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ Cass to Dalmatie, July 20, 1839, enclosed in Cass to Forsyth, Oct. 28, 1839, Despatches, France, 29.

he pointed out, the law of 1835 permitting an increased proportion of foreign leaf to be mixed with domestic had increased French purchases of American tobacco. In short Soult held that Cass's arguments were not to the point, and suggested that his predictions as to the probable result of the abolition of the *régie* were improbable of fulfillment.⁸⁸ During the two months that Cass had waited for this message he had been working on a 10,000 word brief recommending the abolition of the *régie*. He sent it, despite having already been turned down.⁸⁹ At the same time Cass sent all the correspondence to Forsyth, telling the Secretary that it was useless to try to break the *régie's* hold on the tobacco system in France.⁹⁰ Two months later Cass watched with little interest or hope as the French chambers considered the extension of the monopoly, which under the law of 1835 was to expire in 1842. The new proposal was to extend the monopoly for ten years beyond 1842,⁹¹ and the bill passed the chambers without serious objection.⁹² Cass's only other move in connection with the trade was to send a copy of his lengthy brief to James Barbour for use at a proposed new tobacco convention to be held in Washington in May, 1840.⁹³

The years immediately following the resumption of diplomatic relations with France in 1836, when Cass worked to limit the effect of the *régie*, were marked by intensive interest in tobacco exports by private groups, state and local governments, and the federal government. Interest was not directed solely to the trade with France, but the *régie* received much attention as an evil influence on the tobacco trade. The Washington Convention of May, 1840, that Cass had sought to aid through the brief he sent to James Barbour, met as scheduled; delegates repeated old complaints but offered no new solutions.⁹⁴ The following December another

⁸⁸ Dalmatie to Cass, Sept. 26, 1839, enclosed in Cass to Forsyth, Nov. 29, 1839, *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Cass to Dalmatie, Oct. 28, 1839, enclosed in Cass to Forsyth, Oct. 28, 1839, *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Cass to Forsyth, Oct. 28, 1839, *ibid.*

⁹¹ *Le Moniteur*, Jan.-Apr., 1840, p. 749 (Apr. 20-21, 1840), p. 769 (Apr. 23, 1840).

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 271 (Feb. 9, 1840), pp. 420-22 (Mar. 5, 1840). Cass to Forsyth, Feb. 13, 1840, and Mar. 5, 1840, Despatches, France, 29.

⁹³ Cass to Forsyth, Apr. 9, 1840, Despatches, France, 29.

⁹⁴ *Richmond Enquirer*, May 12, 1840. House Exec. Doc. 24, *Congressional Documents*, no. 383 (26 Cong., 2 sess., 1840-41, II). This meeting inspired at least one local memorial, that of a group of Kentucky planters who approved the

convention gathered in Washington.⁹⁵ Delegates considered argument to be futile and recommended retaliatory Federal legislation against European states that discriminated against American tobacco.⁹⁶ This sentiment was echoed in the Georgia Senate late in 1840, when Georgians discussed the feasibility of federal taxes on French wines, silks, and brandies, proportionate to the French penalty on tobacco.⁹⁷ Kentucky tobacco growers, of Daviess County, recommended a federal tax on the products of any European country to equal the taxes that country levied on any American product.⁹⁸

Meantime, in the Federal government, wheels set in motion by the report of Jenifer's Select Committee, of February, 1837, continued to turn. In September, 1837, and again in March, 1838, the House of Representatives asked the Executive for reports on the tobacco trade, and published the replies.⁹⁹ In his annual message of December 3, 1838, Van Buren assured the nation that every proper exertion was being made to further the wishes of Congress regarding the tobacco trade, and mentioned retaliatory legislation as a possible prod.¹⁰⁰ Jenifer's committee used this comment as an excuse for another lengthy report, and induced the House to print 5,000 copies for distribution.¹⁰¹ Again, in March, 1840, the House asked the President for further progress reports.¹⁰² Van Buren replied in April, sending a voluminous study by Joshua Dodge¹⁰³ and some fifty other items beginning with Rives' correspondence. The whole was made available to the public as a printed docu-

action of the Washington meeting. Sen. Doc. 601, *Congressional Documents*, no. 361 (26 Cong., 1 sess., 1839-40, VIII).

⁹⁵ *Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 18, 1840.

⁹⁶ *Niles Register*, Dec. 26, 1840, LIX, 258-59. *Farmer's Register*, VIII (1840), 662-63, cited in Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 125. House Exec. Doc. 24, *Congressional Documents*, no. 383 (26 Cong., 2 sess., 1840-41, II).

⁹⁷ *Niles Register*, Dec. 19, 1840, LIX, 241; *ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1840, p. 258. This would have been a pertinent approach, but the French did not penalize tobacco as an American product. They did not tax it until it became French.

⁹⁸ House Exec. Doc. 25, *Congressional Documents*, no. 383, (26 Cong., 2 sess., 1840-41, II).

⁹⁹ James D. Richardson (ed.), *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the President, 1787-1897* (Washington, 1897), III, 371, 431. Hereafter cited *Messages and Papers*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 496.

¹⁰¹ Reports of Committees, no. 310, *House of Representatives*, no. 352, 25 Cong., 3 sess.

¹⁰² *Messages and Papers*, III, 589.

¹⁰³ House Exec. Doc. 229, *Congressional Documents*, no. 368 (26 Cong., 1 sess., 1840), 155-210.

ment.¹⁰⁴ At the end of 1840 in his fourth annual message, Van Buren mentioned the European tobacco trade briefly.¹⁰⁵

In the following administration, President Tyler commented on American efforts to increase tobacco shipments abroad in two of his annual messages, in two communications to the Senate, and in answer to a House request for information on the trade.¹⁰⁶ In reply to another House request, Secretary of State Webster, in 1842, prepared a special report on French tobacco laws.¹⁰⁷ At about the same time the Kentucky legislature recommended federal laws to restrict French and English imports as long as those countries held to laws that restricted American tobacco.¹⁰⁸

The work of Livingston and Cass in France, with that of private and governmental agencies in the United States in the same years, constituted the most widespread and sustained effort made between 1790 and 1860 to open further the French market for American tobacco. In the years between Tyler's administration and that of Buchanan, as in the years from Jefferson's mission to Livingston's, the French monopoly received little attention but was not forgotten. The end of the period saw both Congress and the minister in France condemning the strangle hold of the *régie* on the trade.

William R. King, who succeeded Cass in April, 1844, received no special orders or information about tobacco. Secretary of State John C. Calhoun merely referred him to instructions sent to previous ministers.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, King was instrumental in preventing new extension of French control over the movement of American tobacco. Early in 1846 the government decided to restrict imports of leaf to vessels of French registry. This, King felt, was a violation of the Treaty of 1822. He so informed Guizot, then Minister of Foreign affairs, saying that the proposed action was not only injurious to American shippers but also that

¹⁰⁴ This report was printed as House Exec. Doc. 229, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Messages and Papers*, III, 605.

¹⁰⁶ *Messages and Papers*, IV, 56, 260, 280, 314, 339. Sen. Doc. 1, *Congressional Documents*, no. 431 (28 Cong., 1 sess., 1843-44, I), pp. 22 ff. House Exec. Doc. 173, *Congressional Documents*, no. 442 (28 Cong., 1 sess., 1843-44, IV). *Journal, House of Representatives*, no. 438 (28 Cong., 1 sess., 1843-44), pp. 156, 198.

¹⁰⁷ House Exec. Doc. 272, *Congressional Documents*, no. 405 (27 Cong., 2 sess., 1841-42, V).

¹⁰⁸ House Exec. Doc. 182, *Congressional Documents*, no. 404 (27 Cong., 2 sess., 1841-42, IV).

¹⁰⁹ Calhoun to King, Apr. 23, 1844, Instructions, France, 15. Only the most casual reader of the legation correspondence could miss the references to the *régie*.

it would hurt American growers.¹¹⁰ Guizot argued at length that France's action was not contrary to the letter of the treaty. After proving the point to his own satisfaction he graciously surrendered to the spirit of the treaty and abandoned the plan to prevent American vessels from carrying tobacco to France.¹¹¹ Secretary of State James Buchanan and President Polk expressed their approval of King's work, but no one suggested testing the strength of other French controls.¹¹² When Richard Rush replaced King in France early in 1847 he was not instructed to discuss tobacco with the French. A year later, however, in March, 1848, when Buchanan learned of the fall of the French monarchy he suggested to Rush that the establishment of a republic might provide a favorable opportunity to work toward the removal of restrictions on American trade.¹¹³ In April some tobacco merchants in Baltimore addressed to the Secretary of State a plea for diplomatic attention to French restrictions on American leaf imports. The Secretary at once passed the letter on to Rush, told him that the tobacco trade was an old issue, and instructed him to make earnest endeavors to secure a more liberal policy.¹¹⁴

During the spring and summer of 1848 Rush was completely occupied in trying to keep up with political changes resulting from the establishment of the Republic.¹¹⁵ In August or September he discussed the *régie* with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and with members of the National Assembly. Virtually everyone he talked to assured him that rather than weakening the monopoly the Revolution had had the effect of making it stronger. The certainty of income from tobacco, he found, was made more attractive than ever by the uncertainty of revenues from other sources.¹¹⁶ The only effect of the changes following the February Revolution was the elimination of private contractors, with their consent, and the substitution of government agents as purchasers.¹¹⁷ The system itself was retained *in toto*. Rush's findings discouraged him from

¹¹⁰ King to Buchanan, Jan. 29, 1846; King to Guizot, Jan. 27, 1846, enclosed in King to Buchanan, Jan. 29, 1846, Despatches, France, 30.

¹¹¹ Guizot to King, Feb. 25, 1846, enclosed in King to Buchanan, Feb. 28, 1846, *ibid.*

¹¹² Buchanan to King, Mar. 27, 1846, Instructions, France, 15.

¹¹³ Buchanan to Rush, Mar. 31, 1848, *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Buchanan to Rush, Apr. 29, 1848, *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Rush to Buchanan, May 20, 1848, Despatches, France, 31. Willson, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-33.

¹¹⁶ Rush to Buchanan, Nov. 6, 1848, Despatches, France, 31.

¹¹⁷ Rush to Buchanan, Nov. 22, 1848, *ibid.*

pursuing the question further during his ministry which lasted until the fall of 1849. Rush was succeeded by William C. Rives, who had had some experience with the *régie* during his service in France twenty years earlier. But no one suggested that Rives test the strength of the tobacco controls and he did not initiate any move. Even in May and June of 1852 when the French Chambers went through their periodic consideration of the monopoly, as a prelude to the passage of a law extending the system, Rives paid no attention to the debates. The monopoly was extended, with little opposition, for ten years beyond the end of 1852.¹¹⁸

The endless frustrations and failures discouraged the tobacco planters and traders. They made no real attempt to obtain federal aid for exports while Taylor, Fillmore, and Pierce were in office. During Buchanan's tenure, however, the effort was revived. At a general commercial convention held in Knoxville, Tennessee, in August, 1857, a committee was appointed to draft a request asking the President's aid in securing modification of excessive foreign burdens on American tobacco.¹¹⁹ The committee was aware of the failure of previous efforts but felt that further attempts should be made; its report was general and mentioned, but did not emphasize, the lack of French cooperation in attempts to develop the trade.¹²⁰ In April, 1858, DeBow's *Review* printed an article elaborating on the discussion at the Knoxville convention, and renewing the request to President Buchanan for federal intervention.¹²¹

These moves were followed by the most strongly worded directive yet sent from Congress in behalf of the tobacco interests. In December of 1858 the House of Representatives asked the President whether any measures had recently been taken toward obtaining a reduction of European duties. Without waiting for a reply the House, in January, 1859, initiated a Joint Resolution, which the Senate adopted without change in February.¹²² In the

¹¹⁸ *Le Moniteur*, Jan.-June, 1852, p. 926 (June 19, 1852); *ibid.*, July-Dec., p. 1043 (July 7, 1852).

¹¹⁹ *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Aug. 8, 1857.

¹²⁰ J. D. B. De Bow, ed., *The Commercial Review of the South and West* (New Orleans), XXIV, New Series IV (1858), 291-300.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 sess. (1858-59), Part I, 612, 620, 641-42, 876, 922. The President answered the request for information in April. See Department of State, Report Book No. 8, ms., National Archives, Washington, D. C., pp. 69-70, and *Messages and Papers*, V, 589.

resolution Congress stated that it was the duty of the federal government to use its utmost powers of negotiation, or other constitutional means including all diplomatic and commercial powers granted the federal government by the Constitution, to modify European restrictions on the tobacco trade.¹²³ The use of tobacco in the Orient should be encouraged, Congress urged. Negotiations should be commenced as soon as practicable with Great Britain, France, other European nations, China, and Japan, to obtain modifications of restraints and taxes on tobacco.¹²⁴

As the Joint Resolution was passed, Lewis Cass, now Secretary of State, and John Y. Mason, the Minister to France, were considering the problems attending an attempt to make some changes in the Franco-American Treaty of 1822. Both were aware of a general desire to obtain more favorable conditions for the tobacco trade, and both were aware of the difficulties involved.¹²⁵ Despite the difficulties, Mason felt that the Joint Resolution required him to make an effort. Late in July of 1859 in a lengthy conference with M. Rouher, Minister of Commerce, Agriculture, and Public Works, Mason forcefully presented a suggestion for a modification of the *régie*, which, the American said, would leave France the full income of the monopoly but would permit imports on a competitive basis. Rouher said he thought Mason's plan worth considering and asked for a memorandum on the subject for transmission to the Minister of Finance.¹²⁶ Mason then turned to the work of revising the Treaty of 1822. Before any actual changes were made, and before any further conversations on tobacco could be held, Mason died.

A new treaty was made a part of the assignment of his successor, Charles J. Faulkner, who went to Paris early in 1860. Faulkner's first discussions of the bases of a new commercial treaty were with the Comte de Lesseps and M. Marchand, who had been authorized to act by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Marchand had been present at all interviews between Mason and Rouher and was fully conversant with the history of the negotiation. Early in the discussions Faulkner brought up the subject of the tobacco *régie* and suggested that more liberal principles might be adopted for the

¹²³ *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 sess. (1858-59), Part I, 612.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Cass to Mason, May 3, 1858, Instructions, France, 15. Mason to Cass, Aug. 30, 1858, Despatches, France, 44.

¹²⁶ Mason to Cass, Aug. 3, 1859, *ibid.*, 45.

admission of tobacco into France. Both de Lesseps and Marchand promptly declared that the French government could not for a moment entertain a proposition leading to any modification of the monopoly. Faulkner accepted the idea that tobacco would have to be excluded from the conversations and from any agreements that might be made in a revised treaty.¹²⁷ He continued the negotiations, but had not completed a treaty when he was recalled soon after the Republican administration took over the government in the United States and ended any possibility of further support for the tobacco trade by the federal government.

The tobacco monopoly was at once a foundation sill of French fiscal policy and a bar to the development of a free market for American tobacco in France. It was the only major issue between the two nations that existed at the beginning of American independence, or that appeared later, and had not been eliminated at the outbreak of the Civil War. American diplomacy failed in this instance, primarily because of the relation of the monopoly to the French treasury. The government was reluctant to tamper with so stable a source of revenue, as was made plain to Jefferson, Gallatin, and their successors in Paris. The reluctance might have been overcome at least in part by offers of special commercial or other privileges to France, or by threats of withdrawing privileges already extended. This possibility was recognized by McLane, Livingston, Cass, and other ministers, and by private and governmental bodies in the United States. Reciprocity was never used as a lever, however, because other matters intervened, as during Livingston's mission, or because of insufficient interest on the part of the State Department, as in John Quincy Adams' negotiations leading to the Treaty of 1822. Chance also played a part in the failure to gain concessions. Something might have been done had Cass been in Paris, instead of cruising in the Mediterranean, when Forsyth's letter arrived instructing him to take up the restrictive features of the *régie* with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Anderson lacked the force needed and was not in a position to respond to Molé's invitation to discuss a new commercial treaty in which concessions for tobacco might have been gained. Finally, the trade with France was never singled out as the primary objective of those, at home or abroad, who were interested in

¹²⁷ Faulkner to Cass, Nov. 20, 1860, *ibid.*, 48.

increased tobacco exports. At home, the aims of Jenifer, Dodge, and the delegates to the tobacco conventions of the 'thirties and early 'forties, included lower duties in all countries of Europe, and in the Joint Resolution of January-February 1859 Congress demanded a world-wide effort to expand the trade. Abroad, the American ministers always had problems other than those of the tobacco trade to consider, and the urgent need that the planters felt was never completely felt by the diplomats. By contrast, Frenchmen of the Foreign and Finance Ministries, backed if not dominated by the Farmers-General and the *régie*, held to the monopoly with single-minded faith in that bulwark of the treasury. The almost immovable object remained unaffected by the less than irresistible force.

THE SEAMAN AND THE SEAMAN'S BRIDE, BALTIMORE CLIPPER SHIPS

By LEWIS ADDISON BECK, JR.

BALTIMORE shipbuilding was a fast-developing business in 1849 when the keel of the *Seaman* was laid. Many forces had contributed to and conflicted with shipbuilding for so many years that their effect is sometimes overlooked in an examination of the glorious excitement and heroic achievement of the so-called clipper ship era.

The pre-1800 American merchant marine was an assorted collection of cumbersome, unmaneuverable, full-bowed, under-rigged, filthy craft which arrived at their various destinations by guess or by gosh, with the exception of a few craft, small in size and with more or less illegal objectives. The well-known "Baltimore" ship, which on sight was suspected of carrying contraband, was usually a topsail schooner with very light gear and tremendous canvas area. It had a beamy, shallow-draft hull with extreme deadrise, considerable drag, and raked stem, stern and masts. It was built to carry compact valuable cargo, to have a turn of speed that would help evade any craft hostile to its intent, and to be able to enter restricted waters. The Baltimore shipbuilder developed and improved the hull design of these craft through experience, and they formed the bulk of the privateer and letter-of-marque fleet of the War of 1812. American shipping up to 1816 was continuously beset by the restrictive laws of England, the hostility of the British fleet, the hostility of the Spanish authorities and assorted pirates. Cargoes were small not only because of the hostility on the seas but because America had little to ship. When, by 1816, the American seamen had earned a creditable victory over the British Fleet in American waters, they were ready for bigger and better commerce. Nobody could out-sail them, they felt; so it was natural they wanted to become masters of the sea. Fortunately, things were on the move in America then.

The final break with British control came at a time when more capital was coming to the United States from Europe, notably England. Foreign markets were opening up all over the world. The young nation was expanding westward, and that West was sending goods to the eastern and gulf ports for transportation. American shipbuilding had to meet the demand for bottoms. In a large measure, this demand was met with brig-rigged, blocky-hulled craft, not very fast but seaworthy and burdensome. These were the tramp ships of the day, the traders and agents and traveling salesmen of the American merchant. Baltimore continued to produce her fast clipper schooners and rakish brigs (tonnage between 200 and 300), but she also built packet ships. These were used on "regular" runs (at least the destinations were somewhat regular) to carry cargo and passengers. In 1816 William Price launched the sharp-model ship *North Point*, 480 tons; and in 1822 the *Corinthian*, 503 tons. In 1817 the gallant *Superb*, 527 tons, was launched; and a fine ship she must have been. Each of these ships had the speed for which Baltimore builders were famous.

Railroads and canals were being built and more commodities were flowing to the ports for transport. Manufacturing was growing; immigration was increasing; cotton transport was becoming important. Baltimore commerce was with Pacific Islands and South America. Her new ships were larger and like the frigate-packet of the day, built to be sailed fast or sailed under. Competition pressed hard for faster ships. In 1833 the *Ann McKim* was laid down by Kennard & Williams, in the face of growing economic depression which ended in the panic of 1837. The *McKim* is notable because of her refinement of the old clipper-schooner hull, but she still had the deadrise, raked posts and low freeboard of her ancestors. She was a successful ship from her launching until she was dismantled in 1852.

Freight from New Orleans was increasing at a tremendous rate in 1830, due to the combined effects of the introduction of steamboat transport on the Mississippi River, development of machinery that made short-fibered cotton a profitable crop, and the discovery that sugar could be grown in the delta region of Louisiana. Receipts at New Orleans increased from \$1,000,000 in 1799 to \$15,000,000 in 1830. More seagoing transports with bulk capacity were needed. The chief bar to large vessels entering the Missis-

sippi was the shoals at the Balize. It became necessary to design hulls with shallow draft, so the drag and nearly all the deadrise were eliminated and the mid-section was lengthened with the result that sailing speed and staying quality were increased. From these New Orleans packets came a long line of fast Baltimore ships, among them the *Sea*, 807 tons, launched in 1838, and the first *Rattler*, 539 tons, launched in 1842.

In 1841 John Griffiths of New York gave a series of lectures on ship design, taking the Baltimore bow as a basis for calculating hull lines. His theories were adopted in 1843, and the *Rainbow*, 750 tons, was launched in New York in 1845. She was one of the first great American clipper ships. She was the clipper packet.

Between 1830 and 1850 about \$150,000,000 was provided for construction of railroads, canals, and turnpikes, each of which brought more freight to the eastern and gulf ports. China was open to trade in 1842. Baltimore merchants were operating an entrepot for Brazilian coffee. Baltimore shipbuilders were busy with small, fast clipper ships for the China trade. In 1848 L. B. Culley launched the *Architect*, 520 tons; Abrahams and Culley, the *Grey Eagle*, 479 tons; H. Meads & T. Horney, the *Grey Hound*, 536 tons; and Caleb Goodwin & Co., the *Thomas Watson*, 349 tons. That same year Mexico ceded to the United States the territory that includes California, and gold was discovered on the American River near Sacramento. By September, 1848, the news of the "El Dorado" had reached the east coast cities and shipping began an exciting race of transport. The new *Architect* was in New Orleans and was one of the first clippers to clear for California, January 16, 1849. The *Grey Eagle* sailed from Philadelphia; the *Grey Hound* had left Baltimore on January 10 for Valparaiso and was later routed to San Francisco. A great fleet of more than 750 vessels cleared east coast ports for California during 1849. Both sailings and launchings were shifted to high gear.

Two Baltimore men were in the midst of the feverish haste to get to the gold fields, to man ships, to improve the design of vessels, and to build ships for rounding Cape Horn. They were Edward Johnsey Bell and Richard Henry Bell, respectively the eighth and eleventh children of Richard (Dicky) Bell, who had been a sergeant in the old Sixth Regulars that "backed up the line" at the battle of North Point. Edward had been apprenticed

to his father and was now a ship carpenter whose home was down Fawn Street, west of Exeter in Old Town. Richard, a somewhat obscure personality, is reputed to have been a sailmaker and ship carpenter, but no definite records of his training are available. However, he lived with his brother, and both men had grown up and been apprentice boys in the shipyards of the "Inner Basin" and the City Dock. Thus it is natural that in 1849 they joined in a firm, styled E. J. and R. Bell, Shipbuilders, and established their yard on the narrow strip of land of City Block forming the outer bank of the ship basin called City Dock. This basin was at the south end of what was then called West Falls Avenue and at the mouth of Jones Falls. Theirs was not a large yard, but it suited their needs at the time and must have been the pride and joy of the young mastercraftsmen. It was just east of Mr. Butler's yard which was at the western end of City Block. Their first ships were small schooners built for "gentlemen of this city." They had launched two of them in quick succession before their big chance came. Early in 1850 Captain Joseph Myrick approached them with the proposition of building for him and others a small, fast clipper ship of the very best materials and latest model, to make the run to San Francisco in record time and to be built in a hurry to catch the increasing trade around the Horn. This was quite an order for a new firm, but doubtless the deal was closed at once. Materials and skilled workmen were at hand. There were Charlie Cockey who did fine joining; Mr. Bill Clark in Hunter Alley who was a master sailmaker and who had married the Bell boys' sister Rachel; and Jabez Wilks to do the painting. Three lumber yards nearby carried Chesapeake white oak and cedar. Here were capital and skills, and the boys had some ideas as to what they would like to build into such a craft. Things started to hum, and there must have been some talk around Fells Point about the extreme lines of the frame the Bells were setting up. The Baltimore *Sun* on Saturday morning, April 27, 1850, announced:

Another New Ship — The Messrs. Bell, at their ship yard, lower end of the Falls, are just getting up the frame of a fine ship of about six hundred tons burthen, building for Captain Myrick and others. Capt. M., who lately in command of the ship *Seaman*, superintends her construction. She is destined for the Pacific trade. The Messrs. Bell are new beginners, and this is the first vessel of this class which they have undertaken. They have recently launched two very fine schooners, built for gentlemen of this city.

It was a rough spring with unusual rainfall and unseasonably cool days. The summer was one of storms and heat. A large lumber yard on Fells Point burned with a considerable loss to the owners, who were insured in an "Ohio" company. The public bathhouse came adrift during a storm and was damaged. Stonefights were numerous, and there were many accidents on the railroads. Then hot September came, and the *Seaman* was nearly completed. For all the discomforts and excitement the great day arrived — the launching. In anticipation of the event the *Sun* published on Saturday morning, September 7, 1850:

Launch—At ten o'clock this morning there will be launched from the ship yard of the Messrs. Bell, on the City Block, a first class clipper ship of 550 tons, carpenter's measurement. She is to be called the "Seaman," is 136 feet 8 inches in length, 28 feet 10 inches beam, and 15 feet depth of hold. She is a sharp vessel, almost as much so as the Greyhound, and is constructed of the best materials — Her interior finish is of a superior character, having two cabins, with state room accommodations for twenty passengers. Each state-room is furnished with washbowl, etc., for the accommodation of the passengers, and connected with the whole is a bathhouse, where the passengers may indulge in a saltwater ablution whenever they please. Indeed, all her accommodations are in the latest style, affording every convenience. She is coppered and copper fastened, and is furnished with one of Holmes' patent steering wheels, and in every appointment is fitted after the most approved styles. She was built for Thomas J. Hand & Co., of this city, and is designed for the Pacific trade. Her construction was under the immediate superintendence of Captain Myrie [Myrick], a veteran in the Pacific navigation, who will command her, and who is also one of her owners. The joiners' work of this beautiful ship was done by Charles Cockey; painting by J. Wilks; blacksmithing by Coleman & Cleveland; rigging by D. Thomas; brass work by French Tischmeyer; plumbing and copper work by J. B. Smull; and carving by Samuel Hubbard. In all these departments, the work has been admirably executed.

Saturday the seventh was hot and humid as only Baltimore mornings can be. Just about launching time the heavens opened. No doubt Capt. M. said, "She'll get wetter than this. Let's put her over." She went down the ways all right but must have struck a mud bank as soon as she was waterborne, for she heeled over after she was launched. Here is the report of September 9, 1850, which appeared in the *Sun*:

Launches—On Saturday morning last, at the appointed time, notwithstanding the heavy rain, the fine ship *Seaman* was launched from the shipyard

of the Messrs. Bell. As she entered the water, for some cause, she canted over to the larboard side so much as to shift all the live cargo, carpenters' benches, etc., on board, but she immediately righted, and sat in the water as still as a post. She is truly a beautiful craft, and the young gentlemen builders may congratulate themselves on this, their first, attempt at a large vessel. After the launch a collation was set out, of which the workmen and others partook.

Shipbuilding was in a heyday. The *Baltimore American & Daily Advertiser* of October 4, 1850, published an article which read in part:

We are glad to be able to state that Baltimore has come in for a full share of the unprecedented increase in shipbuilding—more vessels being launched during the present year than perhaps in any preceding one, whilst a large number are still on the stocks.—Since the 1st of January there have been launched at Baltimore the ocean steamers "Pampero" and "Monumental City," the ships "A. M. Lawrence," "Susan L. Fitzgerald," "F. W. Brune," "Sea Nymph," "Seaman," "North Carolina," "Fanny" and "Banshee," the barques "Reindeer," "Ellen Morison" and "Harriet Cooper," the brigs "Col. Chesnut," "Sun Beam" and "John C. Legrand," and many others of a smaller class.—The greater part of the above are beautiful specimens of "Baltimore clippers," and many of them are already ploughing the deep on their way to California.

A daguerreotype of the *Seaman's Bride* (shown in illustrations), consort of the *Seaman*, shows her masts standing prior to her launching, so it may be assumed that this same advanced stage in her rigging was reached before the *Seaman* went into the water. At any rate her fitting out was accomplished in a short time, and on September 30, 1850, the Office of the Collector of Customs, Baltimore, issued register No. 87 to her. The Baltimore Exchange reading room transcript of the telegraph reports shows:

Thursday, October 3rd, 1850

Weather:	8 A. M.—	Wind NW—	Weather Fair—	Therm. 55—	Bar. 30.05
	12 M	NW	do	61	30.05
	5 P. M	NW	do	62	30.05

sailed — Ship George Brown, Higgins, for Philadelphia; Seaman (new), Myrick, New York.¹

Off to sea at last! What a fine day it was for a sailing, just the right kind of day to shake down a new ship. I wonder what Captain Myrick's thoughts were as he ran down the Chesapeake

¹ Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Records, Maryland Historical Society.

on a broad reach to the Capes. Did he want to coax her or beat her? She must have been a lovely thing. Hearsay has it she was a perfect little beauty, reminding one of a yacht, ship-rigged.

The partners in the venture and their shares are shown on the ship's register as Thomas J. Hand and Joseph Myrick, $\frac{1}{4}$; John Clark, $\frac{1}{4}$; P. Edward Brennan, $\frac{1}{4}$; William Hooper, $\frac{1}{8}$; and James W. Alnutt, $\frac{1}{8}$. These men were now in the race to California; they lost no time in hoisting the house flag to the main truck, because on November 23, 1850, the *Seaman* cleared from New York towards San Francisco. Incidentally, the house flag was identified recently by Mr. John S. Styring of London, England, as a white burgee with blue crescent facing the tack. She was carrying her flag proudly, and evidence that Captain Myrick was driving her is clear. Her first day out she had strong NNW gales with thick weather, snow and hail. The abstract log notes that she was under double reefed topsails and that "the Gulf sea was very high and irregular causing the loss of one of the Quarterboats."² Later the weather settled down to moderate breezes and the *Seaman* ran her easting down by December 1. After $21\frac{2}{3}$ days at sea she crossed the equator near Saint Paul Rocks in Longitude $30^{\circ} 42' W$, "the trade winds having been at no time North of East." Two days later she passed 8 miles East of Fernando da Noronha Island. The next day, December 18, the log makes a restrained comment on the performance of the vessel: "During the day fresh breeze and fine weather. Cleared Cape St. Augustine 16 miles. Having sailed close hauled, braced sharp, since taking the trades in $21^{\circ} N$ Lat. With an ordinary sailing ship, I must have fallen to leeward." On Christmas Day at $29^{\circ} 35' S$ South Latitude, $44^{\circ} 38' W$ West Longitude the log read:

First part fresh breeze with thick rainy weather, having very much the appearance of a sudden change to the SW. At 8 P. M. wind came to south and west with rain—tacked ship to westward and commenced immediately to shorten sail, but so suddenly did the wind increase, and so furiously did it blow, that I expected to lose sails or masts, before the topsails could be close reefed and courses furlled; which from the violence of the wind occupied four hours.

On New Year's Day at $40^{\circ} 32' S$ Lat., $56^{\circ} 19' W$ Long.:

² In the files of the Industrial Records Office (former Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

First and latter part light breeze and cloudy. Middle part moderate breeze with thick rainy weather — After night the water assumed a white, flaming and most beautiful colour — it bore no resemblance to the sparkling and glowing appearance which I have occasionally observed before. The water alive with small fish about 4 inches in length, and great number of Porposes which were after the small fish, and they together with the ship seemed to be running in a sea of milk — This appearance continued with more or less brightness during the night. On a previous voyage, about the same place, and at the same season, observed a similar appearance, both of which were bright and beautiful beyond description.

By January 8, 1851, after 46 days at sea, the ship was off Cape Blanco and crossing the 50th parallel in a gale. She was getting far south now; there were finback whales sighted but no cape pigeons. Myrick was well inside the Falklands and heading for the east end of Staten Island. There were gales with "furious squalls"; the barometer got down to 29.31; they "saw Staten Land." On January 16, 52 days out, the log reads rather laconically: "First and Middle part a fresh gale with heavy squalls, at 8 P. M. saw Cape Horn bearing W by N. Latter part more moderate and cloudy with rain." The two days brought more heavy westerly gales, and at noon on January 18 "Diego Ramirez Islands bore west 6 miles." Myrick was having a bad time working his ship around the Horn, land being so close that there was nothing for him to do but bear off on a starboard tack and get some sea room and westing. Traffic was picking up too. On January 19 they spoke the Brig *Potomac* (89 days from Portland) and the next day "passed three ships upon the same tack with ourselves — Exchanged signals with them, and they were soon out of sight astern." Now it was time to turn northward up the west coast of South America. On February 3, she crossed the latitude of Valparaiso; on the twenty-fifth, she crossed the line, 89 days out and going strong. On March 5, nearing the latitude of San Francisco and at the 133rd meridian, Captain Myrick decided to turn eastward, and the next day the *Seaman's* track squared away for the Golden Gate. On March 11, the fine little ship was off the Heads, and she entered immediately. Joseph Myrick was a happy man, for his log closes: "Arrived at San Francisco 107 days from N. Y., it being the 2d best passage that has ever been made from U. S. to this port, Being beaten only by the Ship *Sea Witch*."

Leaving San Francisco April 18, 1851, in ballast, she had an

uneventful passage to Valparaiso. The log reads, "Arrived in Valparaiso, having had a passage of 7 days less than any on record." She had taken 35 days.

After a week in Valparaiso the *Seaman* departed for Rio de Janiero. She ran south with increasingly bad weather, finally rounding Cape Horn on June 12. The log records gales increasing from "brisk" to "heavy" to "severe." On the thirteenth the Captain wrote, "out of 13 times which I have passed and repassed Cape Horn, never have seen so hard a gale, or one of so long continuance. Neither have I seen it so cold. Much snow and ice upon the ship, the latter making freely upon the deck at midday." Running northward in the South Atlantic, the ship experienced continued gales until June 24 when the wind failed at Lat. 30° S. Ghosting in the remaining 400 miles, the *Seaman* arrived at Rio on June 28, 28 days from Valparaiso and 63 days sailing from San Francisco.

The ship remained in Rio until July 19, when she sailed for Baltimore. This was a routine passage for many other vessels but not for the *Seaman*. Making the best of pleasant weather and light to moderate breezes, she worked her way close in around the shoulder of Brazil and up the mid-Atlantic, arriving without fanfare at Cape Henry on August 19, 31 days from Rio and 94 days sailing from San Francisco. This record passage from west to east *has never been equaled!* On Thursday, August 21, 1851, the Baltimore Exchange reading room journal reads:

Arrived, Ship *Seaman*, Myrick, from San Francisco via Valparaiso and Rio Janiero, 94 days — 59 from Valparaiso and 31 from Rio Janiero to the Capes, to Thos. J. Hand & Co. — Coffee, Tapioca and Rosewood to F. W. Brune & Sons, Kirkland, Chase & Co. and others.

While the *Seaman* was absent from her home port, the Bell brothers had been busy with a new and larger clipper, the *Seaman's Bride* (668 tons). She had the same general lines as the *Seaman* and was launched July 25, 1851, for Mr. Hand and others. Captain Myrick left the *Seaman* to assume command of her consort. The *Seaman's Bride* had the "flash" which the *Seaman* possessed, but a combination of adverse weather, unavoidable accident, and a gathering economic storm seems to have plagued her career under the flag of the United States. Her first voyage from New York toward San Francisco commenced December 12,



THE SEAMAN'S BRIDE UNDER CONSTRUCTION

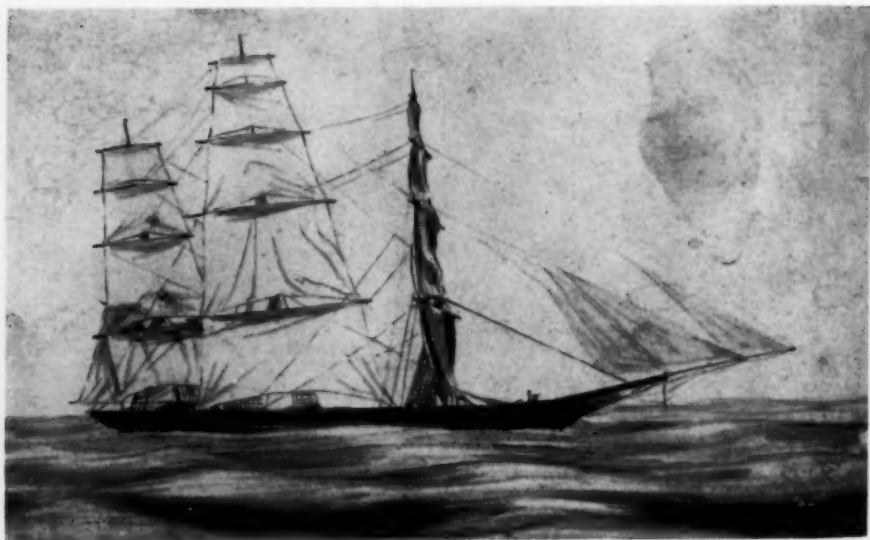
From a daguerreotype made in 1851 prior to the launching. The picture, somewhat damaged, shows that the bow was a transitional one in the development of the clipper ship.

Photo by J. H. Schaefer & Son



THE SEAMAN'S BRIDE

From an oil painting by William Marsh done in 1852. Presented to the Maryland Historical Society by Oliver K. Hand and James K. Hand.



THE SEAMAN

From a sketch made about 1852 and given to the Maryland Historical Society by the Messrs. Hand.

1851. She lost her foremast in a squall off Cape Horn, spent about a month in refitting at Valparaiso and finally arrived at the Golden Gate on May 20, 1852. From there, she sailed to Shanghai and on to New York by way of the Cape of Good Hope. She made one more round trip from New York to San Francisco, 120 days westbound and 110 days returning. Her last voyage around Cape Horn commenced January 24, 1854, at New York. She arrived 119 days later in San Francisco. From there she sailed to Manila and, continuing westward, returned to New York on January 6, 1855. On March 13, 1855, she sailed from New York to Hamburg where she was sold to interests in that city, and her name was changed to *Carl Staegoman*. Here the story of the *Seaman's Bride* fades into obscurity.

Turning back to the *Seaman*, we know that Captain Joseph Drew relieved Captain Myrick of command, and on November 5, 1851, commenced his sea account. This time the *Seaman* was enroute to Callao, Peru. She crossed the equator after 21 days, sighted Cape Horn on December 26 and arrived at Callao Roads on January 14, 1852, at 4 P. M. — 74 days at sea.

After 64 days in port the *Seaman* cleared Callao for Rio de Janeiro, on March 19. She enjoyed pleasant weather and fresh breezes to 53° S Lat. where gales overtook her. The winds were changeable and strong and the sea very rough as she rounded the Horn on April 7. Captain Drew's log is barren of all details except the entry of April 12, when the ship entered the Roaring Forties. He says:

Calm. Thick, cloudy, threatening appearance of the weather. Middle part light airs from S. At 8 A. M. the wind increased suddenly to a strong gale. At noon a violent gale; ship scudding under fore sail, close reefed fore topsail & fore topmast stay sail. Barometer down to 28.10 which I have never before seen in this latitude. Distance run this day 346 miles.

The storm lasted two days, and on April 14 they "turned out all reefs and set all light sail." The ship arrived at Rio on April 24, 36 days from Callao. Continuing her voyage on May 9, the *Seaman* departed Rio for Baltimore. More pleasant weather and favorable winds were their luck, and she was at her best, for she arrived at Cape Henry on June 8, 31 days from Rio, exactly the same time as her previous run between those points.

Refitting and turnabout accomplished, the *Seaman* sailed for

New York in command of Captain William B. Daniels. Daniels was not the cultured man that Captain Myrick was if handwriting and spelling are any criteria. He was a good navigator, however, and kept command of the ship until her end. After she had loaded her cargo at New York, the *Seaman* sailed for San Francisco, passing Sandy Hook at 6 P. M., August 3, 1852, and arriving at San Francisco on December 9, 1852, 129 days total time from New York.

The next log commences on December 26, 1852, for the passage from San Francisco towards Rio de Janeiro. One wonders how many of the crew were shanghaied after a glorious Christmas. In any event, the first entry reads:

On the first part of December 26th Sea Account sailed from San Francisco. At 3 P. M. discharged the pilot and stood out to Sea with a moderate breeze from the South and Eastward with thick cloudy rainy weather — middle part strong gales and hard rain — Latter part moderate winds and pleasant.

The *Seaman* reached Rio on March 3, 1853, 68 days from San Francisco.

Loading the *Seaman* was complete on March 18, 1853, and at 10 A. M. that day she sailed from Rio towards New Orleans. Light airs and torrential rain beset the ship the first few days; after that brisk breezes and pleasant weather continued throughout. "At Midnight passed the N. E. end of the Island of Tobago — at noon the Island of Granada in sight bearing North by compass dist. 7 miles"; this was the entry for April 8. By April 14 "at 6 P. M. Saw the East end of Jamaica — at 10 do. Morant Point. Light bearing North dist. about 6 leagues. At Noon Padro bluff bearing N by E by compass, dist. 3 Leagues." At 4 A. M. on April 18 the *Seaman* entered the Straits of Yucatan, having Cape San Antonio Light (on the SW tip of Cuba) in sight. The ship arrived at the Balize, the mouth of the Mississippi River, on April 21, 1853, 35 days from Rio, 103 days sailing from San Francisco. On April 24, Captain Daniels carefully forwarded his abstract log to Lieutenant M. F. Maury, in Washington:

to. Liut. Maury

Sir I have found your charts and sailing derections to be of great service to navigators in the Atlantic and also the Pasific Oceans and I

keep an abstract according to promise as for I have been able on account of having no thermometer most part of the time

Your obedient Servant
W B Daniels
Commanding
Ship Seaman

At this point in the history of the *Seaman*, original source fails. What voyages the ship made between the middle of May, 1853, and February 6, 1855, are not known. It may be surmised from the ports where the ship's registers were issued that she was engaged in the New York-New Orleans traffic.

Concerning the loss of the *Seaman* we can be sure. Like most bad news, it is thoroughly recorded and documented. Register Number 3 is boldly cancelled on its face and a notation added, "Surrendered at Dept. of State May 12th, 1855. Lost at Sea." In the National Archives is a clipping from an unidentified newspaper which reads:

Particulars of the Burning of Ship Seaman, of Baltimore.

We have already noticed the loss of this fine ship, and we now give some particulars obtained in conversation with the Captain, which are not without interest:

On the evening of the 6th of February, (sea reckoning), being the twelfth day after her sailing from New Orleans, In N. lat. 36°, W. lon. 63°, the wind then blowing a strong gale, they noticed an extraordinary darkness about sunset, and the clouds — it had been cloudy with rain all day — had descended so low, notwithstanding the violent wind, that they concealed the top-gallant yards. This darkness increased until about 6, P. M., when suddenly an explosion was heard like the discharge of a cannon, and the Captain saw globes of fire, as large apparently as a man's head, tumbling down the spars and rigging. A cry arising among the crew, the mate went forward to see if any were injured and found all more or less stunned, but only two hurt and those slightly.

In a few moments the cabin was discovered to be filled with smoke, and it was seen rising from the forward ventilator, which was removed and the fore hold found to be all in a blaze. The force pump, a powerful one, was rigged, and a stream of water brought to bear upon the fire, but the upper part of the cargo consisting of bales of cotton, this was without effect. Smoke was now pouring from the after ventilator, showing the progress of the fire. Thinking to be able to work more effectually, they brought the ship by the wind, but this only made matters worse, and they squared away before it again. It being now evident that the water was of little avail, they closed and secured every orifice by which air could

find admission into the hold, trusting by this method to retard, if not to subdue the flames which were threatening to burst out under their feet; reserving only a sufficient aperture to admit the stream of water which was constantly played upon them.

At eleven at night the decks began bursting up with the force of the heated air and flames. The crew now took axes and cut holes in the decks to allow the entrance of the seas which were breaking over the ship. The water now poured in by tons, but though it checked the flames, it did not extinguish them; and all hands were obliged to work at the pumps to keep the ship from filling. Some attempts were made to get a part of the cargo out of the fore-hatch, but it was found impracticable; those of the crew who had descended into the hold being dragged out in a state of insensibility from the effects of the smoke and steam, while the gases arising from it almost suffocated those who were on deck, compelling them again to stop the apertures in order to exclude the air.

About 3 A. M., all idea of saving the vessel was abandoned; but the men did not cease their labor at the force-pump, for though all was on fire beneath them, and threatening every instant to burst up in flames around them, their only hope for life was in clinging to the burning ship, as the boats would not have lived in such a sea.

Their course was now altered for Bermuda, the men being exhausted with labor, and the fire bursting up through the decks. Two or three attempts were made to get some provisions from the cabin, but the courageous fellows who ventured down were drawn out insensible.

At 9 A. M. the look-out at the masthead reported a sail on the weather beam; so all prudent sail was made, and they stood after her. At half-past eleven they spoke her, and she proved to be the brig *Marine* of Boston, Jordan, master, bound to Cienfuegos, Cuba. Captain Jordan promptly offered his assistance in taking off the crew and whatever else could be saved. At a quarter-past one P. M., the crew being now all on board the *Marine*, the captain, first officer and one man left the ship, and before they reached the brig, the fire was blazing above the rails and seizing on the rigging. At half-past two, when about three miles distant, the fore-mast was seen to fall, and the ship to be wrapped in smoke and flames. Shortly after she disappeared from sight.

Captain Daniels expresses his warmest gratitude for the kindness of Captain Jordan and all on board the *Marine*, who spared no exertion to rescue him and his crew with what little they could save of their personal effects, and who were unremitting in their friendly offices during the rest of the voyage.

How on their arrival at Cienfuegos the whole town was thrown into consternation supposing them to be *filibusters*, how they were forbidden to land, threatened with various penalties, their papers seized, and themselves while in transit across the island, minutely inspected even to the pulling off the captain's boots in search of treasonable documents, are matters which do not belong to this narrative.

W. H. B.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

MARYLAND AS PORTRAYED IN THE

"ITINERANT OBSERVATIONS" OF

EDWARD KIMBER

EDITORIAL NOTE

Edward Kimber (1719-1769) was an English hack-writer who flourished in silence as the anonymous author of seven novels and numerous shorter pieces. He had a flair for catching the dramatic aspect of life and unfolding it forcefully, despite the grandiloquence of his style. One of his novels, *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Anderson* (London, 1754), presents an excellent picture of colonial life in America based upon the author's firsthand knowledge.¹ A factual narrative of Kimber's own adventures in America appeared as a series of articles under the general title of "Itinerant Observations in America" in the *London Magazine* during the years 1745 and 1746.²

After volunteering for service under Oglethorpe at Frederica, Georgia, where the English were fighting the Spaniards, Edward Kimber traveled from New York to Frederica, experiencing a variety of adventures and observing closely the American scene.³

¹ See W. Gordon Milne, "A Glimpse of Colonial America as Seen in an English Novel of 1754," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII (1947), 239-252. A story told to Kimber in America which inspired the plot of the novel appears on pages 330-1.

² *London Magazine*, XIV (1745), 395-6, 549-52, 602-4, XV (1746), 125-8, 248, 321-30, 572-3, 620-4. The "Observations" were reproduced in their entirety in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, XV (1907), 143-59, 215-25, and the *Georgia Historical Society Collections*, IV (1878). The identity of the author was established in 1918 by Leonard L. Mackall (see *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, II (1918), 71) and was fully confirmed by Frank Gees Black in his article "Edward Kimber: Anonymous Novelist of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVII (1935), 27-42.

³ He published an account of the military adventure in *A Relation or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine on Florida* (London, 1744), also anonymous, which has been reprinted by Charles E. Goodspeed & Co., Boston, 1935, with bibliographical notes by Sidney A. Kimber, a descendant of the author. This pamphlet was attributed to G. L. Campbell until recently when it was discovered that Campbell was only a pseudonym used by Kimber.

That part of his journey which took place in Maryland is reprinted here.⁴ The unnumbered footnotes are Kimber's. Editorial additions are enclosed in brackets.

SOME ACCOUNT OF A VOYAGE FROM NEW YORK TO
SENE-PUXON IN MARYLAND

Not being able then, on account of the excessive Severity of the Season, and the Depth of the Snow, which was near 4 Feet, to pursue our Route, by Land, thro' the Province of Pensilvania, we took Passage on board a Sloop * of about 70 Tons, bound to Senepuxon in Maryland, which is generally a Run of 3 or 4 Days, with Land close aboard, and a fine level Shore. A Traveller should never depend upon any Thing, but his own Sight, or the Experience of a Friend, for the Character of a Vessel and its Commander: 'Tis as absolutely necessary to have a personal Knowledge of those two principal Points of marine Happiness or Misery, as to consult the Temper of your Wife or Friend, or the Situation of your Villa, before you undertake the uncertain Voyage thro' the tempestuous Ocean of Life. Indeed, these are but transient Ills, you'll say, and you may see plainly the End of them: Very true; but as in an unhappy Marriage, so in a Vessel of bad Trim, and under the Government of an obstinate Steersman, you frequently but end your Anxieties in the Arms of Death. Next to the Pleasure you enjoy in having, at Sea, a good, tight, clean Vessel under you, nothing can be more agreeable than a sociable, humane Skipper, who consults the Ease and Satisfaction of his accidental Family before any selfishly sordid Inclination. Misfortunes may be

⁴ Those parts appearing in volume XV, pp. 125-8, 248, 321-30. The Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore set of the *London Magazine* was used. For an account of the region of Senepuxon see William B. Marye "The Sea Coast of Maryland," *MdHM*, XL (1945), 94-118, 318-20.

* The Ports of America are filled with various Kinds of Vessels, not over common in very long Voyages in Europe; where three Mast Vessels are generally used, as much on account of their better Accommodations for living, as on account of the more tempestuous Seas they trade in; for most commonly the Coasts of America and the West-Indies are a very safe and pleasant Navigation, and long Voyages have been made in very small Craft. Sloops and Schooners are the general Built they run upon, and they are very adroit in the Contrivance of them, particularly at Bermudas, where they build prodigious Numbers for Sale. They have also Galleys, Settees, Perriaguas, Launches, &c too many to mention. I can't imagine the experienced Sailor would ever choose to trust himself in any Thing preferably to a three Mast Vessel; for as to Sloops, for Instance, 'tis plain you have but one Dependence, and may be swallow'd up before you can remedy your loss.

lightned by good Company, and the Charms of Friendship will make Amends even for the Horrors of Famine and the most dreadful Tempests. We had no reason to complain of our Master, indeed; but of an Illness that confined him to his Cabin the whole Voyage, (which was many Days longer than we expected or desired) and which rendered the only able Seaman we found amongst us of no Service. The Vessel was our greatest Grievance we soon found, being prodigiously foul, rotten, and leaky; and a Pack of stupid Planters, the Crew, who never had been 10 Leagues from Land since they were born, increased that Misfortune. Unknowing all this, we went on board as gaily as we would have done into a Packet-Boat, and found the Master in Bed, which Inconvenience we readily put up with, as the Voyage was so short and safe, and as he informed us, his Mate was a very able Mariner. Our Complement then was, 6 Hands belonging to the Sloop, 3 Passengers, and 7 Negro Slaves; and after taking some necessary Refreshments from Town, we weigh'd and fell down under Nurten Island, and might have taken the Advantage of an immediate North-Wester, to have put out to Sea; but here there happened a great Dispute between the Captain and his strange Associates, and in short they refus'd to run beyond Sandy-Hook that Night. It seems they had engaged to come this Trip, and to be paid in the Freight of such Goods, as they bought at New York for their Plantation Uses, and so were not absolutely under Command; and were resolv'd to lie under the Windward Shore, to consume half an Anchor of New England Rum before they left the Sight of New York. Rewards and Menaces were of no Service, so we even made a Virtue of Necessity, and wrapping ourselves in our Bedding, slept quietly till next Morning; but found when we arose, that two of our Negroes had lost the Use of their Hands and Feet by the Frost (which was excessively severe) notwithstanding they were warmly clad, and had the free Use of that necessary Liquor (on these Occasions) Rum, in what Quantity they pleas'd. Our regret at the Disadvantages we had fallen upon, and which our Time and Occasions would not permit us to remedy, could be equalled by nothing but the Displeasure we felt in leaving that delightful Country, that Land of social Joys and heighten'd Pleasures, that flow'd in upon us during our Stay, notwithstanding the rugged Season. Looking behind me, methinks, the Winter Piece is inexpressibly, tho' mournfully agreeable, the

River flowing in a long Course, till the Sight loses it in an almost imperceptible Point: On one Shore, the goodly City, all surrounded, as it were, with the Waves, reigns supreme Mistress of the brumal Region, and by its aspiring Fumes, seems to declare itself the proper Resort and Comfort of the Season; below it, as far as Eyes can view, the white Beach extends itself, and above its Borders, the now deserted Country Houses rear their unsocial Chimneys.—On the opposite Shore of Long-Island, all bleach'd with Snow, appears the sad Reverse of Spring,—the tuneful Warblers but just, weakly, hop over the unfertile Stubble, and raise themselves to complain, in mournful Chirpings, of their forlorn Conditions; nor pour out those Floods of Harmony that erst awaken'd, with enliv'ning Melody, the early Swain. The whole Prospect is as of a large Desart, save that here and there the crawling Fences * of the Plantations, and the aspiring Vapours of the humble Cottages, shew the Country to be inhabited; and some Remains of the rich Gifts of Ceres, unthoughtfully neglected by the Husbandman, still betray the Footsteps of vernal Industry, and somewhat alleviate my Wintry Chagrin. At Five in the Evening, we were abreast of Barnegat, on the Coast of New Jersey, and the next Day, at Noon, we open'd De la War [Delaware] River, Cape Henlopen bearing S. W. about 12 Miles, and had an Expectancy of a prosperous Voyage; when a contrary Wind springing up, we found our Sloop made nothing of plying to Windward, nor answer'd her Helm, and that she was so leaky that the common Spelling at the Pump would not keep her above Water, so that two Hands were constantly employ'd at that Work, immediately, and without the least Distinction of Persons. It seems, that hoping to meet a speedy Passage, they had neglected telling us of their making so much Water; but now were fain to confess their Folly, and implore our Assistance. 'Twas in vain to argue in such a Case, and Self-preservation excited us to use our best Endeavours. All the next Day we lost Way prodigiously and the cold bleak Weather almost perish'd us: Upon comparing our Reckonings, we found ourselves above 50 Leagues from the nearest Land, which we judg'd to be the most Southerly Part of New Jersey. This last twenty-four Hours we were drown'd in an Inundation of Rain, which however, nothing abated the Wind,

* Worm Fences [zigzag fences of rails crossing at their ends.]

which blew with redoubled Fury, and the irritated Waves toss'd us aloft and alow in a most frightful Manner, considering the bad condition of our Habitation, which had not a sound Plank in her, and the Water pour'd in upon us on all Sides. The next Morning open'd, all wild and tempestuous as the last, and our Distractions were increas'd, by three more of our People being taken violently ill of feverish Disorders, occasion'd by the perpetual Watching, the incessant Labour and the Wet and Cold they were constantly subject to; and still more so, by our Hen-Coop with our Fowls, and 2 or 3 Hogs, which were our only remaining Flesh Provisions, being wash'd overboard, and our Lee Gunnel almost all torn away. We were oblig'd to shift our Loading and Ballast on the other Side, and from this Time could keep no Reckoning; but lay to, under our double-reef'd Main Sail, expecting the worst that could befall us. In shifting the Ballast we found one considerable Leak, which I stopp'd as well as I Could with an old Salvage well paid with Tallow, and over it nail'd an old Tin Plate, which gave some little Respite to the Pump. We now began to think seriously of the Danger we were involv'd in, and the Death that seem'd inevitable. We had no Carpenter, nor one Person that understood Sea Affairs by Profession, of the whole Crew left, and in short every Thing was fallen into our Hands; we were but two, and the Negroes were all unable to move, the Frost having so affected their Limbs, as to call for present Amputation; two of them being mortified to the Knees and Shoulders: And here, I must observe, that in general, they are the most awkward, ungain Wretches, in cold Weather, that can be met with, and if not stirr'd up, will sit whole Days shivering in a Corner without moving Hand or Foot: They seem to be form'd only for the sultry Climate they were born in, and those they are principally apply'd to the Use of; tho' when inur'd to a cold one long, they bear it tolerably well. We ourselves now began to feel the Effects before mention'd: But what will not Men undergo—how many Hardships that seem quite impossible to human Strength, to preserve that valuable Blessing, Life! This Day we had a Kind of melancholy *Memento Mori* presented to us, being the Rudder, Main Yard and Part of the Cutwater of a Ship, which floated along Side us, and soon after the Body of a Seaman, in a Jacket and Trowzers, who seem'd newly to have met his Fate, and who about two Ship's Lengths

from us was devour'd by three or four hideous Sharks. I was glad that none but ourselves were then upon Deck, and we forbore to speak at all of such a disagreeable Sight, which every one is not Stoic enough to contemplate without abandoning himself to fruitless Despair. At Night—may never my affrighted Eyes or my amazed and terrified Ears be Witness to the same—what Horrors were we seized with, and how dreadful our Condition!

All black above—below all foamy white,
A horrid darkness, mix'd with dreadful light!
Here long, long hills, roul far and wide away,
There abrupt values fright back th' intruding day.*

The Deluges of Rain mix'd with the Waves that continually broke over us, the howling Blasts that rent our Ears—the total Darkness, were nothing to our internal Misery. Delirious Ravings on one Side—expiring Groans on another—and the Calls of Help, which we were unable to give, on another, quite distracted us. Bread, Water, and Rum, were all we had left; these were our Provisions for the Sick, these our only Sustenance; and these decreasing so fast as to promise the Addition of the greatest of all Evils to those we already endur'd. Indeed, had our Fowls been preserv'd, we could not have dressed them, we could keep no Fire, and could find no Cooks, and therefore we contented ourselves with Bread dipp'd in Rum for our Patients, and a Draught of Water after it, and Bread and Water for ourselves. We forbore to see after the Negroes, but nail'd down the Hatches, and left them to the Mercy of Providence, we weaken'd apace, and had no Retreat from the Deck, but lash'd ourselves to some Part of the Quarter-Deck, and slept and watch'd by Turns. Thus we weather'd three more dismal Days and Nights, in the two last of which the Wind shifted to the Eastward, tho' without abating of its wonted Fury. However, we made what Way we could, in our present Trim, every Minute expecting to meet with Destruction. We made, as far as we could guess, near 8 Knots an Hour, not daring all these last 24 Hours to direct our Eyes to our distemper'd Messmates in the Cabin, some of whom we were pretty sure deceas'd in the Morning. We shap'd our Course as near as possible, to run in with the next Land, and the next Morning made Shift, one of us, weak as we were, to get up to the Mast

* I forget where my Memory furnish'd me with these Lines.

Head. None can conceive, with what Rapture we descri'd it all abroad; but we could not tell where we had fall'n in with it, as not having had an Observation for a long Time. The unexpected Sight almost depriv'd us of our Senses with very Joy, and instantaneously, as it were, the Wind dy'd away, and a gentle Breeze succeeded, that carried us smoothly to our Mark. We open'd a large Inlet, which we stood in for, and safely came to Anchor, in 12 Fathom Water, the Bottom a fine Sand mix'd with small Shells.

Thus then we found ourselves, to our excessive Satisfaction, free from those dire Apprehensions that had so long disturb'd our Minds, and those Fatigues that had jaded our Bodies, in this little, uncommonly difficult Voyage. As soon as we had dropp'd anchor, we saw several Flats * full of Men, whom we perceived to be our Countrymen; but how as our Joy rais'd into Admiration, when we were inform'd, that the Place we were in, and had so miraculously lighted on, was Ascateaque Inlet to Senepuxon! We ador'd the Goodness of Providence, and return'd unfeigned Thanks for our Deliverance; and now we had Time to contemplate the Beauties of the Scene, and to indulge this new Satisfaction. The Bay we were in, was open to the Sea on the Eastward, and on every Side else, landlock'd. We could plainly now discover the Cries of the industrious Hind, tending his improving Flock; and on every Side, the Lowing of Kine, the Bleating of the fleecy Charge, and the Neighing of the generous Steed struck our Ears; and we exchanged for this new Musick, the Jargon of bellowing Winds, the bursting Rains, and the roaring Thunder. The Beach all glittering with conchous Riches, and white as the driven Snow attracted our Eyes on every Side; the green Marshes and Savannahs, even at this Time, appear'd in fresh Verdure; and the Woods, from the great Quantities of Ever-greens, seemed to wear a Summer Hue. Up the Country, the Creeks, whose Meanders we could discern, form'd to the Fancy regular Canals, rushing Torrents, headlong Cascades, and shining Mirrors; but to moderate our Satisfaction, and to take off from our too great and pre-

* These are large flat-bottom'd Boats, capable of carrying some Tons of Goods, and used in the Tobacco Countries to unlade Vessels with. They have also a Kind of Sloops, clumsily built, which may be called Tobacco Druggers, of 70 or 80 Tons Burden.

sumptuous Exultation, on the Larboard Shore lay the melancholy Wreck of a large Bristol Man, which had stranded in this Place some Years before. 'Tis impossible to describe the Tortures this Sight gave us, which indeed forc'd Tears from our Eyes, by Comparison with what we had been like to suffer ourselves.

We now examin'd our Cabin Associates, and found only the inanimate Remains of three of them. The others had some Signs of Life, and were convey'd on Shore by the Planters who visited us, and were their Neighbours. A thousand Times they lifted their Eyes up with Astonishment at our forlorn Condition. Our Negroes were our next Concern, and here only two were found alive, and such a Stench of Putrefaction in the Hold, as made it necessary to have Recourse to the usual Preservatives from infectious Smells. Ourselves now were to be consider'd, and as soon as the Relations of our Owner came down to the Sloop to take Charge of her, we embark'd in a Flat for Golden Quarter. And now, as if our Ability held out only so long as our Necessity subsisted, we soon felt the bitter Effects of our late Troubles: Frost-bitten from Head to Foot, and feverishly distracted from so long a Privation of downy Repose, we now were almost unable to move any Thing but our deploring Eyes; yet,—Misfortune on Misfortune!—our Barge ran-aground about a Mile from the Sloop, at low Water, Eleven o'Clock at Night, and we were forced to lie open and exposed till the ensuing Morning, she was loaden so deep; and then, with some Difficulty, we hove her off the Shelve: And this, in an extreme piercing Frost, finished our Disasters, and served almost to rob us entirely of the little Life remaining.

Now we survey the land that owes its name
To Charles's bride, . . .
And soon we change, for all that sailors dread,
The Spritely musick, and the sportful dance;
Where jocund damsels, and their well pleas'd mates,
Pass the delicious moments, void of care,
And only study how to laugh and love,
Contented, happy, under Calvert's sway.*

Reliev'd from this Distress, we pursu'd our little Voyage, of

* See Letter from a Son in a distant Part of the World, March 2, 1743, in *London Magazine*, July, 1744, p. 355.

about 14 Miles, thro' the several Creeks that convey you to Golden Quarter; and we were near 24 Hours before we arrived there, occasioned by our frequent Interruptions, or running upon the Marshes, or Oyster Banks, with which these Streams are prodigiously replete. On every Side you might discern the Settlements of the Planters, with their industrious Clearings, surrounded by the native Woods of the Country; whilst the distant Curlings of the aspiring Smoak, wantoning in the Breeze, direct your Eyes to the happy Places of their Residence, where they, generally bless'd with Innocence and Chearfulness, a compliant Consort, and a numerous Race at their Boards, enjoy a Life much to be envy'd by Courts and Cities. We gather'd a Fruit, in our Route, called a Parsimon, of a very delicious Taste, not unlike a Medlar, tho' somewhat larger: I take it to be a very cooling Fruit, and the Settlers make use of prodigious Quantities to sweeten a Beer, which they brew of Cassena and divers Herbs, which is vastly wholesome. The Cassena is a Shrub, that has a small Leaf, somewhat sharpish, and is so admired, when hot Water is poured on it, that I imagine the importing of it to England is prohibited for fear of injuring the Tea Trade. At our Arrival at our Host's, we were put to Bed, and for several Days attended with a Tenderness and Humanity that soon restored our Healths, and our Limbs to their proper Function; when, being furnished with Horses, we addressed ourselves to our first Stage, which was about 20 Miles distant from Golden Quarter, called Snow Hill. Golden Quarter is a kind of stragglng County Village, but the Inhabitants of that Place and Senepuxon, tho' poorer than some of their Neighbours of Maryland, occasioned by the Poverty of their Soil, are a perfectly hospitable, sociable, and honest Set of People, and abound in every Necessary of Life, and most of the Conveniences. In short, they seem to repine only on three Accounts, as all this Side of the Colony does: The one is the Scarcity of strong Liquors; another the extravagant Dues to their Clergy, whom they pay a pretty large Quantity of Tobacco yearly to, by Way of Tithe, for every Head in their Families; and the third, is their paying a larger Quit-rent, which I think they do in *Sterling* Money, than any of their Neighbours under the King's Governors. These Things the poorer Sort feel pretty smartly. To be sure, the Clergy ought to be supported in every Country, independently and decently; and certainly they are an Order of Men that are intirely necessary, whilst they

behave soberly and uprightly, to the Well-being of Society, and seem no where more so than in these Countries; but as I take it, there is little Justice in a poor Land holder's being obliged to give him as great an Offering as his opulent Neighbour. But here, as in every other Part of the World, the Complaints are very much regulated by the Pastor's Behaviour. You seldom hear any Grumbling, when he is a kind, beneficent, humane, and regular Man, that feels for, and endeavors to supply, both the mental Distresses and Wants, as well as the bodily ones, of the Charge intrusted to him; who never, from a Vanity of Temper, a sour Enthusiasm, or a vain Ostentation of Learning, puzzles and distracts his Hearers, by leading them astray from the plain Paths or Meanings of Christianity, into the eternal Labyrinths and intricate Mazes of Speculation and Mystery; nor sets himself up for an infallible Judge of every Dispute, and the authoritative Decider of every Question; nor, to sum up the whole, daubs and dresses Religion (as the Poet says) which is divinely pure, and simple from all Arts, like a common Mistress, the Object of his Fancy. The Rum they generally have from their Stores, is the New-England Sort, which has so confounded a Goût, and has so much of the Molasses Twang, that 'tis really nauseous; and this held up to a very large Price. Sometimes, indeed, an European Vessel lands, to the Gentlemen in the Neighborhood, a Cargo of another Sort; which, however, never diffuses itself much to those beneath them: In other better settled Parts of Maryland, indeed, as about Annapolis, and elsewhere, you hear of no Complaints of this Sort, as every Thing is in the greatest Plenty imaginable: So that what I am speaking of, relates principally to Worcester County and the Parts adjacent, where the Number of Merchants or Store-keepers is but small. You now and then meet with a Cup of good Cyder, in the Season, here, tho' of a thin fretting Kind. The Beer they brew is excellent, which they make in great Quantities, of Parsimons, &c. or Molasses; for few of them are come to malting their Corn, of any Kind, at which I was much surprized; as even the Indian Grain, as I have found experimentally, will produce an wholesome and generous Liquor. The meaner Sort you find little else but Water amongst, when their Cyder is spent. Mush * and Milk, or Molasses, Homine,† Wild Fowl, and Fish, are their principal

* Made of Indian Corn, or Rice, pounded.

† Indian Meal, pounded or ground with the Husks, and fry'd. Great Homine has Meat or Fowl in it.

Diet, whilst the Water presented to you, by one of the bare-footed Family, in a copious Calabash,† with an innocent Strain of good-Breeding and Heartiness, the Cake baking upon the Hearth, and the prodigious Cleanliness of every Thing around you, must needs put you in mind of the Golden Age, the Times of antient Frugality and Purity. All over the Colony, an universal Hospitality reigns; full Tables and open Doors, the kind Salute, and generous Detention, speak somewhat like the old roast-Beef Ages of our Forefathers, and would almost persuade one to think their Shades were wafted into these Regions, to enjoy, with greater extent, the Reward of their Virtues.§ Prodigious Numbers of Planters are immensely rich, and I think one of them, at this Time, numbers upon his Lands near 1000 Wretches, that tremble with submissive Awe at this Nod, besides white Servants: Their Pastures bless'd with increasing Flocks, whilst their Yards and Closes boast Hundreds of tame Poultry, of every Kind, and their Husbandry is rewarded with Crops equal to all their Ambition or Desires.

The Planters in Maryland have been so used by the Merchants, and so great a Property has been made of them in their Tobacco Contracts, that a new Face seems to be overspreading the Country; and, like their more Northern Neighbours, they in great Numbers have turned themselves to the raising of Grain and live Stock, of which they now begin to send great Quantities to the West-Indies. And 'tis the Blessing of this Country and Virginia, and fits it extremely for the Trade it carries on, that the Planters can deliver their Commodities at their own Back doors, as the whole Colony is inter-flow'd by the most noble navigable Rivers in the World. However, this good Property is attended with this ill Consequence, that being so well seated at home, they have no Ambition to fill a Metropolis, and associate together: They require no Bourses, or Meetings about Trade; a Letter will bargain for them, and the general Run of the Market determines the Price of the Commodity.

† The Shell of a Fruit so called. Some of them hold two Quarts.

§ What is said here is most strictly true, for their Manner of Living is quite generous and open: Strangers are sought after with Greediness as they pass the Country, to be invited. Their Breakfast Tables have generally the cold Remains of the former Day, hash'd or fricasseed; Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Venison-Pastry, Punch, and Beer, or Cyder, upon one Board: Their Dinner, good Beef, Veal, Mutton, Venison, Turkeys and Geese, wild and tame, Fowls boil'd and roasted; and perhaps somewhat more, as Pies, Puddings, &c. for Desert: Suppers the same, with some small Addition, and a good hearty Cup to precede a Bed of Down: And this is the constant Life they lead, and to this Fare every Comer is welcome.

For this Reason, the Capitals, and other Towns in these two Colonies, are very slightly peopled, and very badly situated, and remarkable for little else than the Residence of the Governors, and the Meeting of the three Estates, Governor, Council, and Assembly. The principal Meetings of the Country are at their Court-Houses, as they call them; which are their Courts of Justice, and where as much idle Wrangling is on Foot, often, as in any Court in Westminster-Hall. The Lawyers have an excellent Time here, and if a Man is a clever Fellow, that Way, 'tis a sure Step to an Estate, 'Tis Necessity that has driven the Practitioners of the Law hither, from Europe, and other Parts of America, and I remember few that had not made it very well worth their While. Thus Innocence and Truth, white-rob'd Innocence and heavenly Truth, can seldom find a Retreat to dwell in. Distracted with their Adversaries barefaced Attempts, 'tis in vain they seek the most distant Skies: Pale-visag'd Guilt, and wily Fraud, still pursue their flow'ry Steps, determin'd to spare no Means to work their Unhappiness. Wherever you travel in Maryland (as also in Virginia and Carolina) your Ears are constantly astonished at the Number of Colonels, Majors, and Captains, that you hear mentioned: In short, the whole Country seems at first to you a Retreat of Heroes; but alas! to behold the Musters of their Militia, would induce a Man to nauseate a Sash, and hold a Sword, for ever, in Derision. Diversity of Weapons and Dresses, Unsizeableness of the Men, and Want of the least Grain of Discipline in their Officers or them, make the whole Scene little better than Dryden has expressed it: —————

And raw in fields the rude militia swarms;
Mouths without hands, maintain'd at vast expence.
In peace a charge, in war a weak defence:
Stout, once a year, they march a blust'ring band,
And ever, but in times of need, at hand;
Of seeming arms, they make a short essay,
Then hasten to get drunk, the bus'ness of the day.

Indeed, now, I fancy the Carthagening Regiment, by returning some of its Veterans, will give a better Face to these Matters.

Holding Land by the Tenure of defending it, seems to be as antient as Time itself; and certainly nothing can endanger a Country more, than an Army of Mercenaries, who perhaps are quite unconcerned in the publick Property, and have nothing to

fight for but their Pay. How necessary then is it, that the Militia in these Colonies should be well disciplined! since they have no regular Troops allow'd them, and cannot well maintain a considerable Body long themselves. Even at this Time they are alarm'd with an Indian Excursion, and Numbers are marched towards the Back of the Providence to defend the Out-Settlements. Their Government is much respected by them, and one may, on the Whole, say, they are an happy People. The Negroes live as easily as in any other Part of America, and at set Times have a pretty deal of Liberty in their Quarters,* as they are called. The Argument, of the Reasonableness and Legality, according to Nature, of the Slave-Trade, has been so well handled on the Negative Side of the Question, that there remains little for an Author to say on that Head; and that Captives taken in War, are the Property of the Captor, as to Life and Person, as was the Custom amongst the Spartans; who, like the Americans, perpetuated a Race of Slaves, by marrying them to one another, I think, has been fully disprov'd: But allowing some Justice in, or, at least, a great deal of Necessity for, making Slaves of this sable Part of the Species; surely, I think, Christianity, Gratitude, or, at least, good Policy, is concern'd in using them well, and in abridging them, instead of giving them Encouragement, of several brutal and scandalous Customs, that are too much practis'd: Such is the giving them a Number of Wives, or in short, setting them up for Stallions to a whole Neighbourhood, when it has been prov'd, I think, unexceptionably, that Polygamy rather destroys than multiplies the Species; of which we have also living Proofs under the Eastern Tyrants, and amongst the Natives of America; so that it can in no Manner answer the End; and were these Masters to calculate, they'd find a regular Procreation would make them greater Gainers. A sad Consequence of this Practice is, that their Childrens Morals are debauch'd by the Frequency of such Sightings, as only fit them to become the Masters of Slaves. This is one bad Custom amongst many others; but as to their general Usage of them, 'tis monstrous and shocking. To be sure, a new Negro,*

* A Negro Quarter, is a Number of Huts or Hovels, built at some Distance from the Mansion-House; where the Negroes reside with their Wives and Families, and cultivate at vacant Times, the little Spots allow'd them. They are, indeed, true Pictures of Slavery, which begets Indolence and Nastiness.

* A Negro just purchased from the Guinea-man. 'Tis really shocking to be present at a Mart of this Sort; where the Buyers handle them as the Butchers do

if he must be broke, either from Obstinacy, or, which I am more apt to suppose, from Greatness of Soul, will require more hard Discipline than a young Spaniel: You would really be surpriz'd at their Perseverance; let an hundred Men shew him how to hoe, or drive a Wheelbarrow, he'll still take the one by the Bottom, and the other by the Wheel; and they often die before they can be conquer'd. They are, no Doubt, very great Thieves, but this may flow from their unhappy, indigent Circumstances, and not from a natural Bent; and when they have robb'd, you may lash them Hours before they will confess the Fact; however, were they not to look upon every white Man as their Tormenter; were a slight Fault to be pardon'd now and then; were their Masters, and those adamantine-hearted Overseers, to exercise a little more Persuasion, Complacency, Tenderness and Humanity towards them, it might, perhaps, improve their Tempers to a greater Degree of Tractability. Such Masters, and such Overseers, Maryland may with Justice Boast; and Mr. Bull, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Carolina, is an Instance, amongst many, of the same, in that Province: But, on the contrary, I remember an Instance of a late Sea Officer, then resident in a neighbouring Colony, that for a mere Peccadillo, order'd his Slave to be ty'd up, and for an whole Hour diverted himself with the Wretch's Groans; struck at the mournful Sound, with a Friend, I hasted to the Noise, where the Brute was beginning a new Scene of Barbarity, and belabour'd the Creature so long with a large Cane, his Overseer being tir'd with the Cowskin,[†] that he remain'd without Sense and Motion. Happily he recover'd, but alas! remain'd a Spectacle of Horror to his Death; his Master deceas'd soon after, and, perhaps, may meet him, where the Wicked cease from troubling and the Weary be at rest: Where, as our immortal Pope sings,

Beasts in Smithfield, to see if they are Proof in Cod, Flank, and Shoulders. And the Women, who have Plantations, I have been mighty busy in examining the Limbs, Size, and Abilities of their intended Purchases. I do not speak this of Maryland; for I never saw a Lady at Market there, but have elsewhere in America.

[†] A cowskin is so called, from being a large Thong from the Hide of that Animal, twisted into the Shape of a Swish Horse-Whip, and as hard as a Bull's Pizzle. The Common Method is to tie them up by the Hands to the Branch of a Tree, so that their Toes can hardly touch the Ground; but in the West-Indies, they are so habituated to ill Usage, and their Spirits so sunk, that the Overseer need only bid them cast up their Arms over their Heads, which the poor Creatures readily do, and then the Torturer taking a Run to him, Lashes him; and this Discipline is repeated sometimes forty Times: Hardly a Negro but bears the Marks of Punishment in large Scars on his Back and Sides.

No fiends torment, no christians thirst for gold.

Another, upon the same Spot, when a Girl had been lash'd till she confess'd a Robbery, in mere Wantonness continu'd the Persecution, repeating every now and then these christianlike, and sensible Expressions in the Ragings of his Fury, "G-d d-mn you, when you go to Hell, I wish G-d would d-mn me, that I might follow you with the Cowskin there."

Slavery, thou worst and greatest of Evils! sometimes thou appearest to my affrighted Imagination, sweating in the Mines of Potosi, and wiping the hard-bound Tears from thy exhausted Eyes; sometimes I view thy sable Livery under the Torture of the Whip, inflicted by the Hands, the remorseless Hands of an American Planter: At other Times, I view thee in the Semblance of a Wretch trod upon by ermin'd or turban'd Tyrants, and with poignant, heartbreaking Sighs, dragging after thee a toilsome Length of Chain, or bearing African Burdens. Anon I am somewhat comforted, to see thee attempt to smile under the Grand Monarque; but, on the other Side of the Alpes, thou again resum'st thy Tears, and what, and how great are thy Iberian Miseries! In Britain, and Britain only, thy Name is not heard; thou has assum'd a new Form, and the heaviest Labours are lightsome under those mild Skies!

Oh Liberty, do thou inspire our breasts!
And make our lives, in thy possession happy;
Or our deaths glorious, in thy just defence.

ADDISON.

The Convicts that are transported here, sometimes prove very worthy Creatures, and entirely forsake their former Follies; but the Trade has for some Time run in another Channel; and so many Volunteer Servants come over, especially Irish, that the other is a Commodity pretty much blown upon. Several of the best Planters, or their Ancestors, have in the two Colonies, been originally of the Convict-Class, and therefore, are much to be prais'd and esteem'd for forsaking their old Courses: And Heaven itself, we are told, rejoices more over one Sinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine that never went astray. They tell many Stories of some of these People in these Colonies, one of which I commit to Writing, as I had it from the very Person himself, who is the chief in the Story.

Above 60 Years ago, Capt. ———, Master of ———, walking thro' Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, beheld a very pretty Child, about six Years of Age, bewailing himself for the Loss of his Father, whom he had some how or other stray'd from: He sooth'd the Child, persuaded him to dry his Tears, and told him he had Orders from his Father, who was just set out for the Country, to bring him to him. The innocent Victim, without Thought of Harm, follow'd his Deliverer, as he thought him, who carry'd him in the Stage Coach to Bristol, and there immediately put him on board his Vessel, which sail'd a Fortnight after for this Part of the World. Still fed up with Hopes of seeing his Father, and that he was going but a small Trip by Water, where he was, and indulg'd by the Captain in all he desir'd, the Time slipt away, till the Brute made appear, by the vilest Actions, his accurs'd design: The Lad suffer'd much, but his Innocence render'd him incapable to judge of the Propriety of such Actions, and he was acquiescent. When he arriv'd at the End of his Voyage, being very ill, he sold him to a Planter for 14 Years, for 12 Guineas. The Planter, a Man of great Humanity, taking a Fancy to the Child, heard his simple Tale, and perceiv'd the Villany, but not till the Vessel had sail'd. He enquir'd his Name, and just so much he could tell him, and sent over to advertise him in the publick Papers; but before this Design could be compleated, near two Years elaps'd, from his first being kidnapp'd, when, probably, his Father and Mother were both dead, and, perhaps, the Cause of their Death, this Accident. In short, his Master lik'd the Youth more and more, who was sober and diligent, and marry'd him to an only Daughter, leaving him at his Decease his whole Substance. Thirty Years elaps'd, and tho' under great Pain for his Ignorance of his Parents, yet happy in his Family and Affairs, he liv'd with great Content; when a Ship with Convicts coming in, he went to purchase some Servants, and the Idea of his barbarous Captain was so impress'd in his Mind, that he knew him at first Sight, and bought him eagerly; it appearing, afterwards, a notorious Crime had brought him into these Circumstances, and entirely ruin'd him. As soon as he brought him home, he carry'd him into a private Room, and lock'd himself in with him, but what Words could express the Wretch's Confusion and Astonishment, when he understood whose Hands he had fallen into! for he had no Notion before of the Gentleman's being the

same, that, when a Lad, he had us'd so vilely. Struck with Remorse, and the Fear of Punishment, he fell on his Knees and begg'd Forgiveness. 'Twas in vain, he was interrogated about his Master's Parents; he knew as little of them as himself; the Master inrag'd, order'd him to be lock'd into an upper Room, resolving to keep him to the hard Service he deserv'd the Remainder of his Life; but the next Morning he was found stabb'd to the Heart, with a Knife that had been uncautiously left in the Room; and so despairingly finish'd a wretched Life. The Gentleman is now near 70, and very hearty and well.

And now let me address me to my Journey, which lay in a very pleasant Road, thro' the Woods, that every now and then presented you with an opening Plantation: We met an Indian Man and Woman upon this Road, who came from a Town of Whigwhams, near Snow-Hill, where they inhabit, in great Peace, with their Neighbours. We pass'd several Branches * and Savannahs, and the Road all the Way is pretty much upon the Level, and marshy; the Soil of the upper Grounds a loose reddish Sand or Earth. At our Arrival at Snow-Hill, I took up Quarters at an Ordinary,† and found them very good. The Parson of the Parish, who has the only Brick-House in Town, was a good conversible Man, as was also the Presbyterian Minister, a Scotchman, of which Nation great Numbers are settled hereabouts. The Church and all the Houses are built of Wood, but some of them have Brick Stacks of Chimneys: Some have their Foundations in the Ground, others are built on Puncheons or Logs, a Foot or two from the Earth, which is more airy, and a Defence against the Vermin. The Women here are very pretty, and the Men, for the generality, obliging enough. The Town is very irregular, and has much the Aspect of a Country Fair, the Generality of the Houses differing very little from Booths. We staid here only one Day, and the next set forward with hired Horses, not being able to buy any in the Town. The Hire was a shilling Sterling per Day for each Horse, and a Shilling per Day for a Guide. They are good serviceable little Creatures ‡ and travel at a great Rate. The next Night we

* A Branch is a Stream running across the Road, from some neighbouring Creek or River.

† Or Tavern, Eating-house, or Inn.

‡ And live most prodigiously hard. At Night, you need only tether them out, and they pick Subsistence enough in their Station: I have known them go six Days Journey without a Feed or Corn; having nothing but the Stalks of Indian Wheat, and such other Litter as they could pick up.

got to the Line that divides Maryland from Virginia being about 30 Miles, thro' a Road whose delightful Scenes constantly refresh'd the Senses with new and beauteous Objects. And here I can't help quoting Mr. Lewis, when speaking of another Road in this Colony, he says;

But now the enclos'd plantation I forsake,
And onwards thro' the woods my journey take;
The level road the longsome way beguiles,
A blooming wilderness around me smiles
Here hardy oak, there fragrant hick'ry grows,

*

Here stately pines unite their whisp'ring heads,
And with a solemn gloom embrown the shades.
See there a green savanna opens wide,
Thro' which smooth streams in wanton mazes glide;
Thick branching shrubs o'erhang the silver streams,
Which scarcely deign t' admit the solar beams.

And, indeed, I can't help, every now and then, taking him out of my Pocket in this Country; for his descriptive Part is just and fine, and such a Warmth of Sentiment, such a delicate Vein of Poetry, such an unaffected Piety runs thro' the Whole, that I esteem it one of the best Pieces extant. This, with my other dearer Treasure,† and my Euclid, generally relieves me from a too great Sameness of Prospect, or Frequency of the same Objects. Here, having brought several Bottles of Wine for the Purpose, we drank Success to Britain, his Majesty's Health, and that of the Right Honourable Proprietor, whose great and good Qualities have endear'd him much to the People of this Colony.

There certainly can't be a greater Grievance to a Traveller, from one Colony to another, than the different Values their Paper Money bears; for if he is not studious to get rid of the Money of one Place before he arrives at another, he is sure to be a considerable Loser. The New England Money, for Instance, which is

* Their bursting buds the tender leaves disclose;
The tender leaves in downy robes appear,
Trembling, they seem to move with cautious fear,
Yet new to life, and strangers to the air.

We suppose the Author suppress'd these Lines, in the same Description, because the Season of the Year was different when he was there. The whole poem is in our *Magazine* for April 1733, p. 204-207. It was first publish'd in a Paper call'd the *Weekly Register*, since deceas'd.

† Letter to a Son, sign'd Sophronius, in your *Mag.* for July 1744, p. 343.
ANONYMUS

excessively bad, and where, to pay a Six-pence or Three-pence, they tear a Shilling Bill to Pieces, is much beneath the New-York Money in Value, and will hardly be got off there without some Person is going into the first nam'd Province. New-York and Pensilvania often differ about the Dignity of their Bills, and they fall and rise in the different Circulations they take. The Maryland Money is generally pretty good, but of a low Value, and this, again, is not taken on the Western Shore of Chesapeak, where only Gold and Silver is current: North Carolina is still lower than Maryland, and South Carolina worst of all; for their Money there is so low as seven for one Sterling, so that it makes a prodigious Sound; and not only so, but even private Traders there coin Money, if I may use the Expression, and give out small printed, or written circulating Notes, from Six-pence to a Pound, and upwards; in which they are, no Doubt, considerable Gainers, not only by the Currency of so much ready Money, without much Expençe in making it, but also by Loss, wearing out, or other Accidents. In Georgia, again, this Money never passes, for all their Bills are of Sterling Value, and will pass all over America as well as Bank Notes. There are, I find, some considerable Gains, and Stockjobbing in America, by the issuing out, and calling in, their new and old Bills, which I shall not think proper to touch upon.

There are very considerable Numbers of Roman Catholicks in Maryland, particularly about the Borders of Pensilvania; but the Bulk of the Colony is of the Episcopal Persuasion, with a grand Mixture of divers other Sects. The Woman are very handsome in general, and most notable Housewives; every Thing wears the Marks of Cleanliness and Industry in their Houses; and their Behaviour to their Husbands and Families is very edifying. You can't help observing, however, an Air of Reserve, and somewhat that looks at first, to a Stranger, like Unsociableness, which is barely the Effect of living at a great Distance from frequent Society, and their thorough Attention to the Duties of their Stations. Their Amusements are quite innocent, and within the Circle of a Plantation or two, they exercise all the Virtues that can raise one's Opinion of the too light Sex. I would premise here, that I am not writing any Thing yet of the more refin'd Part of the Colony, but what I say now is confin'd to a Tract of about 200 Miles; for in some other Parts you'll find many

Coquettes and Prudes, as well as in other Places; nor, perhaps, may the Lap-Dog or Monkey be forgotten. Hail delightful Sex! would you divest yourselves of but some few Foibles; would you attend somewhat more to the Knowledge of yourselves, and turn your Eyes inwards; had not the rolling Chariot, the shining Ring, the Indian Exoticks, the Frenchify'd Affectation, the gay Coxcomb, more Charms than Knowledge, Decency, Prudence, Discretion and Merit, how happy would you be! But to roll on in a continued Round of senseless Impertinence, will never, never, raise you to the Character or Situation of these American Wives. My God! what a different View has the Representation! the one a Piece where every Figure on the Canvas glows with native Ease, Grace and Proportion; no artful Heightnings, no absurd Conceit, has debas'd the great Designer, Nature: On the contrary, turn your Eyes this Way; what Figures are these? From what distant Clime were they imported? From the Region of sickly Whim, and the Designer sure, like Rabelais, was resolv'd to paint some Beings that were too odd to exist any where else: What a Load of Ornaments, and a Glare of Colours that quite hurt the Eyes in looking on the Piece! nor is there one truly smiling Stroke, one Grace, nor one Beauty in the whole Delineation.

What's female beauty, but an air divine,
Thro' which the soul's unfading lustres shine?
She, like a sun, irradiates all between;
The body charms, because the mind is seen.

INCERT. AUCT.

I should busy myself more in the descriptive Part of my Journal whilst in this Colony, did I not reserve myself, till my Arrival in Virginia; for there is such a Connection between the Trade and Nature of the Soil, and the Commodities they raise and export, that one general Account will serve for both: Nor do the two Countries appear much of a different Form; for in the Uplands of Maryland, they are as mountainous, and abound in Valleys as much as they do in Virginia. For this Reason, I wave those Matters till I arrive there, and insist so much on the Manners and Tempers of the Inhabitants and the Genius of this Country.

They have some considerable Seminaries of Learning in the two Colonies; but Williamsburgh College in Virginia is the Resort of all the Children, whose Parents can afford it; and there they

live in an academical Manner; and, really, the Masters were Men of Knowledge and Discretion at this Time; tho' it can't yet vie with those excellent Universities, for I must call them so, of the Massachusetts; for the Youth of these more indulgent Settlements, partake pretty much of the *Petit Maitre* Kind, and are pamper'd much more in Softness and Ease than their Neighbours more Northward. Those that can't afford to send their Children to the better Schools, send them to the Country School-Masters, who are generally Servants, who, after serving their Terms out, set up for themselves, and pick up a Livelihood by that, and writing Letters, and keeping Books for their illiterate Neighbours. Often a clever Servant or Convict, that can write and read tolerably, and is of no handicraft Business, is indented to some Planter, who has a Number of Children, as a School-Master, and then, to be sure, he is a tip-top Man in his Parts, and the Servant is us'd more indulgently than the generality of them.

As I said before, the young Fellows are not much burden'd with Study, nor are their Manners vastly polite: But the old Gentlemen are generally a most agreeable Set of Companions, and possess a pretty deal of improving Knowledge; nay, I know some of the better Sort, whose Share of Learning and Reading, would really surprize you, considering their Educations; but this, to be sure, must be an after Improvement. One Thing they are very faulty in, with regard to their Children, which is, that when young, they suffer them too much to prowl amongst the young Negros, which insensibly causes them to imbibe their Manners and broken Speech. The Girls, under such good Mothers, generally have twice the Sense and Discretion of the Boys; their Dress is neat and clean, and not much bordering upon the ridiculous Humour of their Mother Country, where the Daughters seem dressed up for a Market.

'Tis an odd Sight, that except some of the very elevated Sort, few Persons wear Perukes, so that you would imagine they were all sick, or going to Bed: Common People wear Woollen and Yarn Caps; but the better ones wear white Holland, or Cotton: Thus they travel fifty Miles from Home. It may be cooler, for ought I know; but, methinks, 'tis very ridiculous.

They are all great Horsemen, and have so much Value for the Saddle, that rather than walk to Church five Miles, they'll go eight to catch their Horses, and ride there; so that you would

think their Churches look'd like the Out-Skirts of a Country Horse Fair; but then, as some Excuse, it may be said, that their Churches are often very distant from their Habitations.

An universal Mirth and Glee reigns in Maryland, amongst all Ranks of People, and at set Times, nothing but Jollity and Feasting goes forward: Musick and Dancing are the everlasting Delights of the Lads and Lasses, and some very odd Customs they have at these Merry-makings: You would think all Care was then thrown aside, and that every Misfortune was buried in Oblivion. In short, my Spirits have been sometimes raised so much, that I have almost forgotten I was of another Clime, and have wish'd myself for ever amongst them. Adieu! happy People! For the Favours I have reaped at your Hands, Gratitude shall ever fill my Breast: I leave you but to return again *; once more to partake of your Halcyon Feasts, and hearty jovial Mirth.

For now, with glad'ned eyes, we view the bounds
Of that fam'd colony, from whence the weed,
The salutiferous plant, that sends the breast
From noxious vapours of th' inclement morn,
Provocative to solid, studious tho't,
Derives its birth and use; the land that erst
Employ'd the labours of our virgin queen,
And still is sacred to Eliza's fame.†

* The Author was again in Maryland for some Time, and many of the detach'd observations were made then, though he chose to interweave them with this short Tour.

† See the motto.

A LAST GLIMPSE OF MENCKEN

By DOUGLAS GORDON

AT A DINNER party in 1931 at the house of the late Dr. Raymond Pearl, the noted Hopkins bio-statistician, I first met my host's close friend, Henry Mencken. He was then fifty, and strikingly youthful in his ways, with marvelous gusto in eating, drinking and talking.

Mencken had been the object of my youthful hero-worship. I had read most of his books, and looked forward keenly every week to his Monday article in the Baltimore *Evening Sun*. After the appearance of his *Newspaper Days*, I asked him whether it would be possible again to have in Baltimore a crusading paper like the old Baltimore *News*, which modernized the City and suppressed political corruption. I chided him, too, for his rather critical attitude toward Charlie Grasty, the celebrated editor of the *News*. He said he believed that a paper which appealed to people's thoughtfulness and pride in their city would be a total failure at the present time. But, subsequently, he did write less harshly of Grasty. He could never quite forgive him for having run the *News* so successfully that Mencken's own paper, the *Herald*, where at a tender age he occupied a conspicuous position, could not stand the competition, and ceased publication after the Baltimore Fire.

About fifteen years later, Joseph Hergesheimer spoke to my law club on the subject of "Love." The speaker and the members had applied themselves so lustily to the excellent foods and wines which preceded the lecture, that they have a rather faint memory of the amorous discourse, except as being somewhat precious, not to say academic. After it ended, Mencken dropped in to see his old friend. He entered the room, looking the picture of health, and spoke to this effect: "Fellows, I should not be here this evening. I have left a sick bed against the orders of my doctor. No doubt, I shall suffer severely for this disobedience." What a change these gloomy words indicated from the boisterous Mencken of 1931!

Some of the old Mencken seemed nevertheless to have survived his later and truly serious illness, for when, on leaving the hospital after recovering from a severe stroke, he passed the Y.M.C.A., a scene some years before of the scandalous misbehavior of an ardent reformer and eloquent prophet of Prohibition, he tipped his hat with all solemnity at the spot which revived memories, ever delightful to him, of the oft-repeated scandal. Later, I sent him from an English book catalogue, a notice of a book by one Menckenius, entitled, *La Charlatannerie des Savants*. This attack on the pseudo-learned, paralleling some of Mencken's own activity, and evidently by a relation if not an actual ancestor, I thought would amuse him. What was my horror when I received word from his faithful stenographer, Miss Rosalind Lohrfinck, that he could neither see nor hear.

A year or two later word got 'round that Mencken's condition had greatly improved. He was even quoted as praising a picture book by one of his friends, the photographer Aubrey Bodine. This certainly, in the case of a highly conscientious reviewer, presupposed that his sight had been restored. Accordingly, when I met André Siegfried in New York on December 8, 1955, after a lecture he gave at the French Institute, my first thought was that Mr. Siegfried might wish to see Mencken again. Upon returning to Baltimore, I wrote Mencken, and was told by Miss Lohrfinck that he would be delighted to receive Mr. Siegfried, his health permitting. Mr. Siegfried then agreed to repeat in Baltimore the lecture given in New York, and said he would arrive in ample time to visit Mencken at 1524 Hollins Street.

Mr. and Mrs. Siegfried and I arrived at the Mencken home at three o'clock on the afternoon of January 12. Before ringing the door bell, we agreed that any one of the three who saw any sign of fatigue would immediately stand up, thus giving the signal to the others to depart simultaneously from the sickroom where we expected to be received.

We were met at the door by Mencken's devoted brother, August. In the characteristic Baltimore "middle room," a dimly lit sitting room with a fire-place, we found Mencken himself walking about, apparently hale and hearty. His complexion was ruddy, and he offered us cigars, saying that he smoked them himself. Our impression of his seemingly excellent health was, after our first greetings, not too seriously altered by his asserting in an eager

and, indeed, somewhat argumentative voice, "Well, there is no use making any bones about it, I am as good as dead. I can't read, I can't work, and the sooner it is all over the better."

The Siegfrieds tactfully broke this train of thought by general conversation, which somehow came around to the question of Mr. Siegfried's age. When Mencken at 75 heard that his guest was 80, and in addition to his regular activities of lecturing at the *École des Sciences Politiques*, writing for *Le Figaro*, and turning out a book a year on sociology, had also during the Fall given a course of lectures at Harvard and spent the Christmas vacation flying through the West and lecturing, had that very day been a guest of honor at a luncheon at the French Embassy, was to attend a formal dinner and deliver another lecture that evening, in some interval visit cousins in Baltimore, and then return to Washington, he seemed somewhat startled, and said, "I'll be damned. I thought you were one of the young fellows. I never knew you were eighty." He then once more took up his principal theme, "But it is all over with me, and the sooner the end comes the better."

Again the Siegfrieds attempted to divert him from the gloomy thought he appeared to cherish, and asked him about Daniel Coit Gilman, the illustrious first president of the Johns Hopkins University. "President Gilman," Mencken replied somewhat pontifically, "was a very outstanding educator. His emphasis on original work by candidates for the degree of Ph. D. was followed throughout America. He was a fine man; but,"—and here his voice dropped in apparent sadness,— "he was pious; yes, he was pious."

Mr. Siegfried, among other questions, asked how Maryland divided in the Civil War. August Mencken replied that the tide-water part of the state had had slavery, but that slavery was non-existent in mountainous regions, so that in Western Maryland, and like hill-country, it was virtually unknown. Such a generalization was most pleasing to Mr. Siegfried who, a quarter of a century before, had in similar vein pointed out in *America Comes of Age*, that the only states supporting the Farmer-Labor Movement in the 1928 election were those having less than ten inches of rainfall. Their necessarily impoverished farmers tended to believe the claptrap of the politicians incapable of getting the vote of the more prosperous and more intelligent cultivators of well rained-on soil. But at this point Mencken again referred to his astonishment

at Mr. Siegfried's age, and interrupted the discussion with an explosive, "I'll be damned, I didn't know you were eighty years old," as if his basic theories were much upset by seeing such an energetic octogenarian.

Then Mencken held forth about a box of memoranda on personalities he had known, which had been rescued by Miss Lohrfinck just as it was about to be sent to the Pratt Library with his other papers. These reflections, he said, being no longer libelous, since their subjects were long since dead, would shortly be published under the title, *Minority Report*. Inspired by this knowledge, Mr. Siegfried started inquiring about other characters Mencken had known. This time he asked about President Gilman's family. Mencken explained that President Gilman had two daughters, one of whom married and left Baltimore, while the other, Miss Lizzie Gilman, remained there. In reply to questions about her, he said, "Miss Lizzie Gilman was a very splendid woman, very charitable, loving to help those who were unfortunate, but,"—and here again his voice fell with seeming sorrow, and his head shook sadly,—“she was pious, she was pious.” He quickly roused himself, however, by returning to his main hypochondriac obsession.

At this point an indication that he was becoming tired caused all of his guests to rise simultaneously. When we moved forward to shake hands with him, he fairly shouted in an almost bellicose tone, "What's the use of talking with me; I am all through, and the sooner it is over the better."

As we walked down the stairs, I said to Mr. Siegfried, "Wasn't Mencken the main influence upon you when you wrote, *America Comes of Age*? He replied, "No, the greatest influence upon me at that time was Sinclair Lewis." "Well," I argued, "that is really saying the same thing, for the whole school of writers to which Lewis belonged was largely formed by Mencken and unceasingly repeated Menckonian ideas."

MINIATURES IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A Supplement to the Hand List by Anna Wells Rutledge
Published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*,
June, 1945

Including Those Acquired 1945 to 1956

Compiled by EUGENIA CALVERT HOLLAND and LOUISA MACGILL GARY

Unless otherwise noted, all miniatures are oval and on ivory; R. represents rectangular; D. diameter, indicating the item is circular. Measurements are given in inches.

MRS. WASHINGTON BERRY (Eliza Thomas Williams) (1808-1864)

Daughter of Thomas Owen Williams, Jr. (1776-1810) of "Seat Pleasant," Prince George's County, and his wife Elizabeth Thomas (1782-1802), daughter of Hon. James Thomas (1747-1810) of Talbot County. Married 1882 Washington Berry of "Metropolis View," Prince George's County, overlooking the City of Washington. Great grandmother of donor. Unattributed American, 1822. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$

Gift of Mrs. A. M. Holmes. 49.85.1

MRS. ALEXANDER L. BOGGS (Susan Greer) (1797-1884)

Daughter of John Greer and his wife, Susan Bayly of York, Pennsylvania. Wife of Alexander Lowry Boggs (1792-1856), Baltimore merchant. Great grandmother of donor.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$

Gift of Mr. Fenton Boggs. 53.66.3

LAETITIA BONAPARTE ("Madame Mère") (1750-1836) (?)

Mother of Napoleon I.

By Jean Baptiste Isabey. Signed: *J. Isabey/An 5*: [1796 or 1797] D. $3\frac{1}{4}$

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.4

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)

Emperor of the French.

By Jean Baptiste Isabey. Signed: *Isabey 1806*. 2½ x 1½

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.3

JOHN BEALE BORDLEY, IV (1800-1882)

Portrait painter. Son of Matthias Bordley, prominent planter of Wye Island, Queen Anne's County, and his wife, Susan Gardner Heath, daughter of Daniel Charles Heath and Mary Key. His paternal grandfather was the distinguished Maryland jurist and agriculturalist, John Beale Bordley (1727-1804). The artist married twice; his first wife was Jane Sophia Singleton, the second, Frances Paca Baker. Grandfather of the donor.

By Richard M. Staigg. Signed: *R. M. S.* 1½ x 1¼

Gift of Mr. John Beale Bordley, VI. 54.48.1

MRS. JOHN BEALE BORDLEY (Frances Paca Baker)

Second wife of the artist, married in 1829. There were two daughters, Elizabeth Paca Bordley (b. 1831), wife of George Coulter; and Frances Beale Bordley (b. 1833), wife of Richard Wilton. The daughters were half sisters of John Beale Bordley, Jr. (V) son of Jane Sophia Singleton, daughter of John Singleton of Talbot County and first wife of the artist John Beale Bordley, IV. Step-grandmother of donor.

By John Beale Bordley. 2½ x 2

Gift of Mr. John Beale Bordley, VI. 54.48.2

GEORGE WASHINGTON BOWEN (ca. 1817-1886)

Native of Gettysburg, Pa. A proof-reader in the Government Printing Office in Washington, the subject was father-in-law of the donor.

Unattributed American. On ivory and paper. 2 x 1½

Gift of Mr. J. Clinton Perrine. 55.86.1

MRS. ROGER BOYCE (Hannah Maria Day) (1780-1854)

Daughter of John Day, of Harford County, and his wife Sarah McCaskey. She was married in 1797 to Roger Boyce of Baltimore County. Their daughter, Jane Boyce, married George W. Peter of "Tudor Place," Georgetown, D. C. Grandmother of donor.

By Anna Claypoole Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale 1818*.

2¼ x 2¼

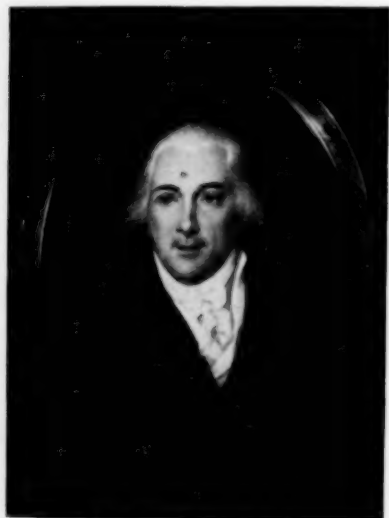
From estate of Miss Ella Mackubin. 56.62.12



JOHN SINGLETON
By Charles Willson Peale
(slightly enlarged)



MRS. ROGER BOYCE
By Anna C. Peale
(slightly reduced)



BENJAMIN HARWOOD
By James Peale
(slightly reduced)



SAMUEL COLLINS
By Silas Dewey
(slightly reduced)



ROBERT COLEMAN BRIEN (1806-1833)

Of Baltimore and Catoctin, Frederick County. Married 1825 by Archbishop Maréchal to Ann Elizabeth Tiernan.

By Anna Claypoole Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale* 1827. R. 3 x 2½

Deposited by Mrs. John W. Avirett.

MRS. ROBERT COLEMAN BRIEN (Ann Elizabeth Tiernan) (1798-?)

Daughter of Luke Tiernan (1757-1839), native of Ireland who came to the United States ca. 1783 and settled in Hagerstown, later in Baltimore. A wealthy commission merchant, he occupied many positions of dignity, civic and political.

By Anna Claypoole Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale* 1825. R. 3 x 2½

Deposited by Mrs. John W. Avirett.

JOHN BROWN (1793-1876)

Of "Ripley," Queen Anne's County; eldest son of Col. James Brown (1764-1822) and his wife Hannah Hackett. Graduate of Dickinson College; married 1820 Eliza Grey Bonsall (1799-1859). Their daughter, Emma, married the Rev. George Clement Stokes (1824-1904), rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Baltimore. Subject was great grandfather of donor. By George Munger, 1815. Water color on paper, R. 4¾ x 3½

Gift of Miss Emma L. Stokes. 51.53.1

ADMIRAL FRANKLIN BUCHANAN (1800-1874)

Distinguished officer of the U. S. Navy and Confederate States Navy. Founder and first superintendent of the U. S. Naval Academy. Son of Dr. George Buchanan of Baltimore and his wife Letitia McKean. He married in 1834 Ann Catherine Lloyd of "Wye House," daughter of Governor Edward Lloyd (1779-1834).

Attributed to Joseph Wood, ca. 1825. 3 x 2½

Gift of estate of Kennedy R. Owen. 55.83.1

CAPTAIN JAMES RORKE CALLENDER (ca. 1780-1811)

Son of Thomas Callender and his wife Margaret Rorke, of Delaware. He married in 1808 Martha Browne Ogle. Captain Callender was lost at sea in 1811, and his wife married secondly General Thomas Marsh Forman.

Unattributed American. R. 2½ x 1¾

Gift of Miss Mary Forman Day. 45.94.3

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON (1737-1832)

Statesman, planter, last surviving Signer of the Declaration of Independence; delegate to the Maryland Revolutionary Convention, 1775; member of the Continental Congress, 1776 and 1778; commissioner to Canada, 1776; United States Senator, 1789-1792.

By Anson Dickinson. Signed: *A Dickinson/1824*. R. $3\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{1}{16}$

Gift of Mrs. William E. Bleck. 54.76.1

SAMUEL CHANCELLOR, See CAPT. DAVID CUSHING

CHARLES I OF ENGLAND (1600-1649)

Second son of James I and Anne of Denmark. Signed, in 1632, the Charter of Maryland, granting to Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore and his heirs, the province of Maryland named in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. The King was executed Jan. 30, 1649 [Old style 1648].

A memorial ring, under a mounted "jewel"; an enamel portrait of the King and the following inscription: *Jan. 30/1.6.4.8./C. R./Martyr/Populy*.

Unattributed European. D. 7/8

Gift of Miss Clara Goldsborough Hollyday. 45.61.1

SAMUEL COLLINS (d. 1814)

Son of Rev. John Collins and his wife Margaret Kerr of Dorchester County.

By Silas Dewey, ca. 1810. Wash drawing on paper. Signed: *Dewey, Pt.* R. $3\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$

Gift of estate of Miss Lindsay T. Waters. 54.35.1

WILLIAM COALE (1780-1805)

Son of Dr. Samuel Stringer Coale and his wife Anne Hopkinson Coale. Died of yellow fever in West Indies. Copy by Mary B. Redwood after James House.

Oil on composition board. $5\frac{1}{4}$ x $4\frac{1}{8}$

Gift of Mrs. Francis T. Redwood. xx.4.227

JACOB I. COHEN (1744-1823)

Native of Oberdorf, Bavaria, Germany, the son of Joshua and Peslah Cohen. Immigrated to the United States in 1773; an officer of the Revolution; identified with commercial interests in Charleston, S. C., Richmond, Va., and Philadelphia, Pa. Married, first, Elizabeth Whitlock Mordecai (1744-1804);

secondly, Rachel Jacobs (d. 1821). Great great uncle of donor.

Unattributed European. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$

Gift of Miss Harriet Cohen Coale. 47.22.3

CAPTAIN DAVID CUSHING (1754-1827) or SAMUEL CHANCELLOR (1760-1844)

Identification uncertain; not stated by donor.

Unattributed. Inscribed on back: *Mess^{rs} Horne/and/As No 64 St. James St./Nov. 7, 1801/Paine Mounter.* $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$

Bequest of Miss Josephine Cushing Morris. 56.50.8

MRS. THOMAS W. DAVIS (Phoebe Shotwell Townsend) (1807-?)

Daughter of Joseph Townsend of New York.

Unattributed American. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$

Gift of the Misses Corner. 45.75.1

ELLEN CHANNING DAY (Mrs. Charles J. Bonaparte) (1852-1924)

At age of $21\frac{1}{2}$ years. Daughter of Thomas Mills Day and his wife, Anna Jones Dunn, of Hartford, Conn. She married in 1875 Charles Joseph Bonaparte (1851-1921), Baltimore lawyer, Secretary of the Navy and Attorney-General of the United States, son of Jerome Bonaparte and his wife, Susan May Williams, and grandson of Jerome (youngest brother of the Emperor Napoleon), King of Westphalia, who married first in 1803 Elizabeth Patterson, daughter of William Patterson, Baltimore merchant.

Unattributed. Copy from photograph; made in Paris. Porcelain. D. $1\frac{1}{4}$

Gift of Mrs. Charles J. Bonaparte. xx.5.68

MRS. GRAFTON DUVAL (Elizabeth W. Hawkins) (1785-1831)

Youngest daughter of Thomas Hawkins of "Merryland Tract," Frederick County. Married 1804 Dr. Duvall (1780-1841), a member of the Maryland Council.

Unattributed. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$

Gift of Mrs. Addison F. Worthington. 49.4.4

MRS. OLIVER TARBELL EDDY (Maria Burger) (1800-1877)

Native of Eaton's Neck, Long Island. Daughter of a silversmith, possibly Thomas Burger in Newburgh, N. Y., 1822; wife of the artist Oliver T. Eddy (1799-1868).

By Oliver Tarbell Eddy. Paper, R. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$

Purchase. 51.113.1

MRS. SMITH FALCONER (Nancy Poultney) (d. 1922)

Daughter of Samuel Poultney and his wife Ellen Curzon.

By Richard C. Poultney. $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$

Gift of Mrs. D. C. Wharton Smith and Miss Rebecca D. Poultney, 50.35.1

THOMAS MARSH FORMAN (1758-1845)

Of "Rose Hill," Cecil County; eldest son of Ezekiel Forman (1735-1795), high sheriff of Kent County and his wife, Augustina Marsh. Married first, Mary Clay, widow of Peter Porter of Delaware; secondly Martha Brown Ogle, widow of Capt. James Rorke Callender. Forman was an officer in American Revolution; a member of the Maryland Assembly; a noted breeder of blooded horses and President of the Maryland Jockey Club.

By William Groombridge. Signed: *Groombridge/April/1794/Philadelphia*. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$

Gift of Miss Mary Forman Day. 45.94.1

MRS. JAMES GIBSON (Elizabeth Bordley) (1777-1863)

Daughter of John Beale Bordley the elder, of Wye Island and Philadelphia, and his second wife, Sarah (Fishbourne) Mifflin. Close friend of Nelly Custis, daughter of John Parke Custis and his wife Eleanor Calvert of Mount Airy, Prince George's County, Maryland. (see No. 55.48.2)

By John Henry Brown. Signed: *J. H. Brown 1861*.

Simulated oval on rectangle of ivory. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$

Gift of Dr. James Bordley, Jr. 55.48.1

WILLIAM FELL GILES, JR. (1835-1891)

Son of Judge William Fell Giles, of Harford County and Baltimore, and his first wife, Sarah Wilson (1809-1845), daughter of John and Isabella Wilson. Graduate of Princeton, 1854. U. S. Consul in Switzerland. Married, first, Mary Louise Kealhofer of Hagerstown; secondly, Eleanor Schaefer of Baltimore.

Unattributed American, ca. 1842. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$

Bequest of Mrs. Mary Giles Blunt. 53.16.2

DAVID STERETT GITTINGS, M. D. (1797-1887)

Son of Richard Gittings and his wife Polly Sterett. University of Maryland Medical School 1818. Hospital interne at London, Paris and Edinburgh 1818-1820; returned to Balti-

more County to practice and made his home at "Roslyn," Upper Falls. He married first, Julianna West Howard; second, Arabella Young; third, Laura A. King.

By R. Marsden. Signed: *R. Marsden pinx 1818/London*. R. 2½ x 2

Gift of Mr. William B. Marye and the Misses Mary Sterett and Victoria Gittings. 48.112.1

MRS. ELIAS GLENN (Ann Carson) (1779-1847)

Of Newcastle, Del. Married, 1794, Judge Elias Glenn of the U. S. District Court of Maryland and had three daughters and a son, Judge John Glenn (1795-1853), of Baltimore and Catonsville.

By Charles Curtis. Signed: *C. Curtis 1827*. D. 1½

From estate of John Mark Glenn. 50.122.3

JOHN GREER (1761-1813)

Of York, Pa. He married, 1789, Susan Bayly. Their daughter Susan married Alexander L. Boggs, Baltimore merchant; they were the great grandparents of donor.

By James Peale. Signed: *I. P./1794*. 2 x 1½

Gift of Mr. Fenton Boggs. 53.66.1

MRS. JOHN GREER (Susan Bayly) (1763-1808)

Daughter of John Bayly of Donegal, Pennsylvania.

By James Peale. Signed: *I. P./1797*. 2 x 1½

Gift of Mr. Fenton Boggs. 53.66.2

MAN OF THE HANSON FAMILY (?)

Unattributed American, ca. 1800. 1½ x 1½

Gift of Mrs. W. Winchester White. 47.52.4

BENJAMIN GWINN HARRIS (1806-1895)

Son of Col. Joseph Harris (1773-1855) and his wife Susannah Reeder (1782-1827); and grandson of Col. Thomas Harris (1741-1815) and his wife Ann Gwinn. He married 1826 Martha Elizabeth Harris. They lived at "Ellenborough," near Leonardtown. A graduate of Yale, and of the Harvard Law School, he served in the House of Delegates 1834-1836, and in the 38th and 39th Congresses.

Unattributed, ca. 1810. Water color on paper (locket) D. 1½

Gift of Mrs. Cora Key Maddox Cole. 49.52.5

JOHN FRANCIS HARRIS (1775-1834)

Son of Col. Thomas Harris and Ann Gwinn of "Mt. Tirzah,"

Charles County. Younger brother of donor's great grandfather, Col. Joseph Harris (1773-1855).

Unattributed. Paris, ca. 1810. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$

Gift of Mrs. Cora Key Maddox Cole. 54.103.1

BENJAMIN HARWOOD (1751-1826)

Son of Richard Harwood of South River, Anne Arundel County, and his wife Anne Watkins. Succeeded to the office of his older brother Thomas, first treasurer of the Western Shore, under the Council of Safety, 1776. Continental Receiver for Maryland (under the Articles of Confederation), 1783; Treasurer of the Board of St. John's College, 1786.

By James Peale. Signed: *I. P./1799*. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$

From estate of Mrs. Sallie C. Pusey. 46.108.1

MRS. HENRY HENDRICKSON (Margaret Faithful Garey)

Only daughter of Jeremiah Garey, pewter manufacturer of Easton, Talbot County, and his wife Elizabeth Burke, daughter of Edward Burke. Sister of Hon. Henry Faithful Garey (1821-1892), Associate Judge, 8th Judicial Circuit. Married, 1832, Henry Hendrickson. She was the grandmother of donor.

Unattributed American, ca. 1830. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$

Bequest of Mrs. William R. Dorsey. 53.6.1

MRS. THOMAS JENNINGS JOHNSON (Elizabeth Russell) (1778-1805)

Daughter of William Russell (1741-1805) and his first wife Frances Lux (1747-1793). Second wife of Thomas Jennings Johnson (1766-ca. 1807), son of Thomas Johnson, Governor of Maryland.

Attributed to Jean Pierre Henri Élouis. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2$

Deposited by Mrs. John W. Avirett

CAPTAIN DAVID CUMMINGS LANDIS (ca. 1807-1878)

Master of clipper ship *Republic* sailing around Cape Horn, bound for the Orient, and skipper of the *F. W. Brune* during 1863 rescue of disabled bark *Margaretta*, bound for Plymouth, England; port warden at Baltimore. Great grandfather of donor's wife, Helen Root Landis Lindenberg, in whose memory this gift was made.

Unattributed. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$

Gift of Mr. Victor H. Lindenberg. 48.109.1

MRS. DAVID C. LANDIS (Josephine M.) (d. ca. 1884)

Wife of Captain Landis. According to family tradition, Mrs. Landis made her home on her husband's vessels and her children were born aboard ship. Great grandmother of Mrs. Victor H. Lindenberg in whose memory this gift was made.

Unattributed. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$

Gift of Mr. Victor H. Lindenberg. 48.109.2

BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE (1766-1820)

Architect and engineer who emigrated from England in 1796. He worked in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, New Orleans and Washington, where from 1803 to 1811 he was Surveyor of Public Buildings, and supervising architect of the U. S. Capitol.

Unattributed. ca. 1810. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$

Deposited by Mrs. Adrian H. Onderdonk.

JOHN HAZLEHURST BONEVAL LATROBE (1813-1891)

Lawyer, writer, and artist of Baltimore; son of Benjamin Henry Latrobe and his second wife Mary Hazlehurst (1780-1841). A founder of the Maryland Historical Society and its president 1871-1891.

Unattributed. Oil on paper. $3\frac{7}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$

Gift of Latrobe Cogswell. 45.105.2

MRS. WILLIAM ARMISTEAD MOALE, II. (Eleanor Addison Gittings) (1850-1890)

Daughter of William Smith Gittings (1826-1863) and his wife Anna Maria Aldridge (1827-1902). Married in 1882 William Armistead Moale, Jr. (b. 1849) son of William Armistead Moale (1800-1880) and his wife Mary Winchester (1812-1889).

By N. F. Bean. Signed: *N. F. Bean*. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$

Deposited by Mrs. Louis Lehr.

THOMAS JOHN MORRIS (1837-1912)

U. S. District Judge for Maryland. Born in Baltimore, son of John Morris (1805-1846) of Ireland and Baltimore, he married in Paris, 1836, Sarah Chancellor (1815-1877), daughter of Samuel Chancellor (1760-1844) of London and Le Havre, France.

By A. Paquelier. Signed: *A. Paquelier*. $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$

Bequest of Miss Josephine Cushing Morris. 56.50.9

RICHARD OWEN (ca. 1745-1822)

Licensed Methodist minister ca. 1772. Teacher of writing and mathematics, 1784, at St. John's College, Annapolis. Died at his residence "Plinlimmon," Baltimore County.

By David Boudon, 1808. Inscribed: *St. John's College/Jan. 1808/Richard Owen/aged 64/David Boudon*. Watercolor on card. R. $2\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{16}$

Gift of Miss Mary H. Maynard and Mrs. William Ross Howard. 56.29.1

LOUIS CHARLES PASCAULT (1790-1867)

A captain in the Mexican War. Son of The Marquis de Poléon, Jean Charles Marie Louis Felix Pascault, d'Aunis et de Saintagney (ca. 1749-1824) and his wife Mary Magdalene Slye (1756-1830). Married 1810 Ann E. Goldsborough (1787-1855), daughter of Howes and Rebecca Goldsborough, of "Pleasant Valley," Talbot County. Presented in memory of donor's husband, Richard Macsherry (1886-1949), great great nephew of subject.

Unattributed. Watercolor on paper. R. $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$

Gift of Mrs. Richard Macsherry. 50.83.1

FRANCIS AUGUSTINE PERIER, (1797-1858)

Refugee from Santo Domingo to Norfolk, Va., married Dinnette ———. On gravestone, St. Paul's Churchyard, Norfolk, the name is spelt "Perries."

Unattributed European. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2$

Gift of Mrs. Samuel T. Earle. 50.79.2

FRANCIS AUGUSTINE PERIER (1797-1858)

Unattributed. Said to have been painted in Paris. R. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$

Gift of Mrs. Samuel T. Earle. 50.79.3

ROBERT SHEDDEN (d. ca. 1795)

Uncle of Mrs. George W. Riggs (Janet Madeline Cecilia Shedden) of Washington, D. C.

By Maria A. (?) Chalon. R. $5\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$

Gift of Mr. George de Geofroy and Commander Henry M. Howard, R. N. 49.90.12

MRS. ROBERT SHEDDEN (Agatha ———) (d. ca. 1795)

By Maria A. (?) Chalon. R. $5\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$

Gift of Mr. George de Geofroy and Commander Henry M. Howard, R. N. 49.90.13

JOHN SINGLETON (1750-1819)

Native of Whitehaven, England; settled in Talbot County. Married first, 1774, Bridget Goldsborough; secondly, 1790, Anna Goldsborough, niece of his first wife, daughter of Nicholas Goldsborough of "Otwell."

By Charles Willson Peale, 1790. 2 x 1½

Purchase. 56.36.1

WILLIAMINA SMITH (Mrs. Charles Goldsborough) (1768-1783)

Daughter of the Reverend William Smith, first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and President of Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland. She was engaged at one time to Dr. Thomas Cradock (1752-1821), a great great uncle of the donor, and ultimately married Mr. Goldsborough (1761-1801) of "Horns Point," Dorchester County.

Attributed to Major John André of the British Army. Oil on porcelain setting for finger ring. ¾ x ½

Gift of Mr. Arthur Cradock. 53.76.2

MARY T. SPENCE

Niece of James Russell Lowell. She was educated by Lowell's sister, Miss Mary Lowell, returned to Baltimore and, with her widowed mother, opened a small private school for children about 1830. Died in Lyons, Ohio.

By John H. Tegemeyer, 1863. Signed: *Tegmey . . .* Watercolor on paper. R. 4 x 2½

Gift of Miss Katharine M. Christhilf. 53.52.2

MRS. GEORGE STEVENSON (Margaret Cromwell) (1776-1846)

Married in Baltimore May 1, 1794, by the Reverend Mr. Willis.

Unattributed American. 2 x 1½

Gift of estate of Miss Mary E. Waters. 49.18.3

DR. HENRY STEVENSON (1721-1814)

Born in Londonderry, Ireland, married (1) Frances Stokes, (2) Ann Dawson who died July 8, 1792, aet. 44, and was buried in the vault at "Parnassus"; (3) Ann Caulk, d. 16 Oct. 1806, in 54th year. Dr. Stevenson introduced inoculation for smallpox and used a wing of his house "Parnassus" as a hospital. His property was confiscated during the Revolution, but later was returned to him because of his important services to the community. Great great grandfather of the donor.

Unattributed American. $1\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$

Gift of Mr. Arthur Cradock. 53.76.1 A

REV. GEORGE CLEMENT STOKES (1824-1904)

Son of William B. Stokes (1782-1866) and his wife Henrietta M. C. Stokes (1791-1862) of Baltimore. A native and member of the Baltimore Bar. Ordained 1853 by Bishop Whittingham; married in 1857 Emma Brown, daughter of John Brown (1793-1876) of Queen Anne's County. Served as rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Baltimore, 1861-1904.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$

Gift of estate of Miss Anna Lee Brown. 55.56.1

CHARLES TYLER (1772-1825)

Of Norfolk, Virginia.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$

Gift of Mrs. Samuel T. Earle. 50.79.1

MRS. WILLIAM F. TYLER (Caroline Augusta Rogers) (1823-1916)

Tyler family of Norfolk, Virginia. Mother of donor.

Unattributed. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$

Gift of Mrs. Samuel T. Earle. 50.79.1

ANDREW AUGUSTUS VAN BIBBER (ca. 1755-1805)

Probably son of Henry Van Bibber (ca. 1726-1778) married in Chestertown, 1790, Sally Forman, daughter of Ezekiel Forman, and sister of Gen. Thomas Marsh Forman (1758-1845). A Baltimore merchant, he later lived at North End, Va.

By James Peale (?). $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$

Gift of Misses Mary V. and Betty C. Goodwin. 50.63.1

DR. HENRY PETERSON VAN BIBBER (1800-1840)

Son of Andrew Augustus Van Bibber, merchant of Baltimore, later resident of North End, Va., and his wife Sally Forman. Married Margaret Bartree.

By Henry Bebie (?) ca. 1840. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$

Gift of Misses Mary V. and Betty C. Goodwin. 50.63.2

MRS. HENRY PETERSON VAN BIBBER (Margaret Bartree) (ca. 1805-ca. 1840)

According to tradition, native of England. She and her husband are said to have spent much time in England.

By Henry Bebie (?). 3 x 2½

Gift of Misses Mary V. and Betty C. Goodwin. 50.63.3

PEREGRINE WELCH (Welsh) (d. 1826)

Son of Robert Welch of Londontown, South River, Anne Arundel County. Removed to Baltimore ca. 1805 and was appointed clerk of the City Commissioners. Married 1807 Lydia Richardson (ca. 1784-1871), daughter of Daniel Richardson of Baltimore. Subject was maternal grandfather of donor.

By David Boudon. Watercolor on card. R. 3 x 2½

Gift of Mr. Clinton Perrine. 55.21.1

MARY E. WILKINS

By Florence Mackubin. Signed: *Florence Mackubin/1899.*

R. 3½ x 2½

Deposited by Peabody Institute

JOSEPH DE MULET WILLIAMSON (1807-1843)

Son of David Williamson and his second wife, Julia de Mulet (1758-1853) both of Baltimore. Married 1833 Mary Boyle. Died in Louisiana.

Unattributed. 3¼ x 2½

Gift of Mrs. Henry H. Flather. 53.116.1

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

By Marlet. Signed: *Marlet/1791*

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.5

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN (ca. 1810)

American School, watercolor on paper. 4 x 3

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 55.56.1

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

American School (ca. 1840). 1½¹⁵/₁₆ x 1½¹⁰/₁₆

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.7

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1890)

By Richard C. Poultney. 3½ x 2½

Gift of Mrs. J. Hall Pleasants. 46.111.2

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1790)

Possibly Elizabeth Bordley (1777-1863) daughter of John Beale Bordley.

Unattributed. Acquired in 1954 by donor from M. George P. Lung of France. D. 2½

Gift of Dr. James Bordley, Jr. 55.48.2

UNKNOWN LADY

Style of Sir Thomas Lawrence.

Unattributed European. $4 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 55.65.4

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1810)

Water color backed by portion of letter, inscribed: "...poole, Peale . . . Peale (*brother of Ch . . . on Peale*).

Unattributed water color on paper. $3\frac{3}{4} \times 3$

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.2

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1840)

Unattributed. $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.9

UNKNOWN LADY

Style of ca. 1800, wearing coral necklace. Emerald green cloisonné backed locket frame.

Unattributed 20th century European. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2$

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 55.65.5

UNKNOWN LADY

In 17th century dress. Miniature mounted in top of ivory patch box.

Signed: *Rubee*. D. $1\frac{1}{4}$

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 55.65.6

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1855)

Brooch pin, backed with mother-of-pearl.

Unattributed. $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$

Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.8

"PARNASSUS," Baltimore, Md. (ca. 1775)

Country house located on east bank of Jones Falls, approximately the area north of the city jail about Chase Street. Home of Dr. Henry Stevenson (1721-1814).

Unattributed. $1\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ (One side of divided locket, other side portrait of Dr. Stevenson).

Gift of Mr. Arthur Cradock. 53.76.1 B

SIDELIGHTS

EGG-PICKING

PAUL S. CLARKSON

For a sport so widely practiced and so fondly remembered by so many, the art and lore of "egg-picking" has a remarkably small bibliography. For the benefit of non-Marylanders, perhaps it should be explained that the game was long popular among children around Easter time, and consisted of tapping one hardboiled egg against another, the loser being he whose egg was the first to crack. Interesting but by no means exhaustive articles on the subject (street cries, ritual, techniques, etc.) are to be found in the Baltimore *Evening Sun* for March 29, 1933 (editorial page), and in the *Sunday Sun* for April 17, 1949 (brown section). A brief notice of this custom is also to be found in Carolina Canfield Bullock and Annie Weston Whitney's *Folk-Lore from Maryland* (New York, 1925), p. 117. A graphic description of the sport is to be found at pp. 312-13 of Augusta Tucker's *Miss Susie Slagle's* (New York, 1939), a novel of life and love at the Johns Hopkins Medical School forty-odd years ago.

The antiquity of this custom is illustrated by a passage from Thomas Anbury's *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (London, 1789). Anbury was a highly observant young British officer who was shifted from one prisoner-of-war camp to another (from Boston to Winchester and back again) during the last half of the American Revolution. While stationed at "Col. Beattie's Plantation near Frederick Town in Maryland, July 11, 1781," he noted the following customs then and there prevalent (Vol. II, at pp. 500-1):

"At Easter holidays, the young people have a custom, in this province, of boiling eggs in logwood, which dyes the shell crimson, and though this colour will not rub off, you may, with a pin, scratch on them any figure or device you think proper. This is practised by the young men and maidens, who present them to each other as love tokens. As these eggs are boiled a considerable time to take the dye, the shell acquires great strength, and the little children divert themselves by striking the eggs against each other, and that which breaks becomes the property of him whose egg remains whole."

A LETTER DESCRIBING THE ATTACK ON FORT MCHENRY

The Reverend James Stevens (1776-1859), a Methodist, was stationed in Baltimore during the British attack on Fort McHenry in the War of 1812. He reported his reactions to the attack in the following letter to his sister, which was generously given to the Maryland Historical Society by Walton D. Wilson, a great-great-grandson of Stevens:

My dear Sister

Baltimore, September 29th 1814

In the midst of all the distresses with which I am incumpest the labours of both body and mind under which I move, I would strive to redeem a little time and appropriate it to riting to you who is still present in mind while absent in body. I am attending to my Station and have been ever since I returned from the Springs which was the first of this month—as far as I am able and perhaps a little further my helth is not restord my brest is weak my apetite is bad my poor frame is waisting away, my labours here is hard my preaching is the Smallest part but let me tel you that my good God is with me and I feel as if my work wood soon be dun and I cald to rest from my labours—you no doubt have heard of our distress in this place and if possible worse then what it was—war has brought its calamities to our doors. I got to my Station before our ingagement in this place and was here all the time. I do not feel able to paint out the distress and confution half as it was with us—to see the wagons, carts and drays, all in hast mooving the people, and the poorer sort with what they could cary and there children on there backs flying for there lives while I could see planely the British Sail which was ingagd in a severe fire on our fort for 24 Hours. I could see them fire and the Bumbs lite and burst on the Shore at which explosion the hole town and several miles out would shake—there bumbs waid upwards of 200 pounds which was throwd three miles, at least sum of them did not burst which I have seen in which there was six pounds of powder for the purpos of bursting of them at this time we had our wounded fetch from the fort in to town with the wounded from the ingagement on land below town a few mile sum with there limbs broke and others me at a throne of grace left behind, while two wagons were loded with the dead—However there loss must have been more than ours we have kep our ground so far and are expecting them again—this is our situation at this time every has to stand with his sord by his side there is no buisness of consiquence going on here all apears to bespeak destrucktion. O that God may undertake for us—this is the second letter I have rote to you Since my return O Sister rite to me as soon as possible and remember me at a throne of grace where our prayers I hope will meet for each other—my Love to Father & Mother Morison & thy Dear little daughter and tel her Samuel is well from

JAMES STEVENS.

Mrs Julian Pernell
Huntingdon, Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Charles McLean Andrews, A Study in American Historical Writing. By A. S. EISENSTADT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. xx, 273 pp.

To read Dr. Eisenstadt's study has been for the present reviewer a revisiting his old mentor as hero, and a return to times gone by. Andrews, though anything but withdrawn from the university, craft, and community in which he dwelled, was yet so completely the working historian that one can only be grateful for the author's decision to write an exposition and criticism of the man's historiographical effort, rather than a round biography. He lived his profession with an intensity of application which must have conflicted sometimes with irreducible routines in his patrician surroundings. Eisenstadt catches that background; he catches also the assiduity with which Mrs. Andrews supported him, and he indicates the freedom Yale gave him as professor for a quarter century to study and write and teach exactly what he felt called to do. A lecture-course and a seminar each year in American colonial history for graduate students was his total teaching assignment; one new doctor of philosophy a year was the rate of production he set for himself as trainer of scholars.

When I was his student, just before and just after retirement twenty-five years ago, Andrews was surrounded by legends of personal grandeur and near-omniscience in history—such as a story of his confounding Rostovtseff on a point of Roman history debated at faculty lunch. Though contrasting stories cropped up also, which purported to come from the seedtime of his career, I may admit to being startled to find fully authenticated the datum that at Trinity College, Hartford, Andrews made an unpromising start as student, and almost decided to drop out of college. And my own retrospect on a mind, which I believe was no more than moderately sympathetic with the study of religious ideas in history, has been altered by learning from Eisenstadt that Andrew's minister father, of old New England line to be sure, belonged to the Catholic Apostolic—an adventist and ritualist—movement. Finally in the department of biographical event, a Hopkins reviewer must squirm in his chair to discover that during Andrews three-year occupancy of a professorship here—as successor in 1907 to H. B. Adams who had trained him two decades earlier—he found himself pressed into being, he said, an academic “general-utility-man” and that he had “almost ceased to be a scholar.” When Yale took Andrews it outdid Hopkins in the Hopkins tradition of first attention to creative research.

More comfortably Eisenstadt confirms that it was Hopkins training which

had set Andrews on the road of learning—as it set Woodrow Wilson, F. J. Turner, and C. H. Haskins his contemporaries. The writer clarifies a little-recognized point about him that the medieval studies he began at Hopkins, and developed in his early book *The Old English Manor*, represented a dissent from Adams's "germ" theory of institutions; and this renders Andrews comparable with Turner, who made a different kind, and a more famous, dissent from Adams's doctrine. From the early 1890s forward Andrews's entire commitment as scholar was fixed in the colonial period. Leading specialist among specialists, Andrews's researches stretched over two centuries, from Walter Raleigh to George Washington; and the author-critic's point is neatly taken, that the massive quantity of Andrews's investigations became transformed into quality by virtue of breadth and depth. Eisenstadt reviews fairly and lucidly the now well known generalizations about colonial relationships which were the essence of Andrews's large interpretation. He is right in indicating that Andrews lost perspective on his own work and that of his colleagues when late in life he continued to speak of the "new" colonial history decades after that view had been widely accepted. But the writer goes too far when he criticizes Andrews's ideas as "obvious."

Andrew's day has passed. Not for the worse new interests are governing colonial historical research today; and the center of gravity of American historiography as a whole has shifted forward in time to periods which interested Andrews hardly at all. An equally important difference in our day from his is the often expressed relativism of the working historian's philosophy; and, related to that, is a prevailing habit, not to our credit, that most historians today are quite piecemeal in their work. Very few proceed as Andrews (and Turner) did, to pile up lifetime accumulations of data in a field, and to propose reinterpretations applicable not so much to days or decades but to centuries of history. For our day, though we assign ourselves different tasks, Andrews's rigorous sense of the historian's objectivity, of the dignity and vitality of his effort, seem especially precious. He had a sense of the international—always of the transoceanic if not so perfectly the universal—in history, and a superb conviction that the long-run counts more than the short-run does in human affairs. These are not to be claimed as unique insights belonging to Charles M. Andrews alone, but he expressed them splendidly in a context which gave them meaning, and Eisenstadt is to be congratulated on having written an analysis and a reminder.

CHARLES A. BARKER

The Johns Hopkins University

Elias Hicks: Quaker Liberal. By BLISS FORBUSH. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. xxii, 355 pages. \$5.50.

In producing this work Bliss Forbush, Headmaster of the Friends' School in Baltimore, has made an outstanding contribution to both Quaker and American historical writing. In the nearly half a century since the last work on Hicks was printed a considerable body of unpublished manuscript material, including a large number of letters and a hundred pages of Hicks' *Journal*, has become available for study. It is through using both the newly discovered and the already known documents that the author paints a detailed and highly interesting account of American Quakerism in the last part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.

Elias Hicks, who was born on Long Island in 1748 and who lived eighty-two years, was active as an itinerant Quaker minister for half a century—from 1779 to 1830. In a time of primitive travel conditions he rode more than forty thousand miles by horseback and carriage, often sleeping in the open woods or in the rude cabins of the backcountry. Wherever he stopped, whether it was in a Maryland tobacco barn, a state capital, a Friends' meeting house, or an orchard, great crowds came out to hear Elias Hicks speak. Throughout the Society of Friends and among many non-Friends this man was regarded as one of the saints and prophets of the age. Truly he seemed to be an instrument of God. This was as true in Maryland and the other states that he visited as it was in his native Long Island. Wherever he went the various Friends' meetings recorded their appreciation of his religious labors among them.

The story of Elias Hicks is related in a significant way to the whole development of liberal and progressive thought in America. He combined the teaching of God's individual guidance with the use of human reason. Hicks was one of the earliest teachers of progressive revelation, a theological position which caused many of the orthodox Friends to view him as an infidel. This teaching was one of the contributing factors to the division which occurred in the Society shortly before the death of Elias Hicks.

The Great Separation of 1827-1829 among American Friends is fully treated and documented. Dr. Forbush relates it to the strong feelings of sectionalism, the widespread development of new denominations which came about in this first third of the nineteenth century, and the new democratic spirit at large in America. The division in the Society of Friends (just recently done away with in the New York and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, but still in evidence among those Friends in Maryland west of the Chesapeake Bay) is one of the most regrettable happenings in Quaker history. Those interested in Quakerism, and all serious students of church history, will find this account of the Separation (especially the somewhat unsavory part played by traveling English Quakers) to be enlightening and thought-provoking. As is so clearly shown in this book, there were many factors which led up to the division and many persons who contributed to the break. One of the real values of this volume is the corrected picture which it gives of Hicks who, somewhat vaguely, has been thought responsible for the separation. Hicks was more sinned against

than sinning. A close examination of the facts shows Elias Hicks in a far more favorable light than most of the other people involved.

One of the things least known today about Elias Hicks is his contribution to anti-slavery work. His *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their descendants*, published in 1810, contained the seeds of the abolition crusade taken up some twenty years later by William Lloyd Garrison and those who followed Garrison's leadership. This pamphlet gave great impetus to the movement against the use of slave products. Rice, cotton, and sugar were boycotted by many Friends. In Baltimore "free produce" stores were opened. Hick's method in dealing with the problem of slavery were different from that of his well-known predecessor John Woolman (1720-1773) who is universally considered to be the finest product of American Quakerism. Some of his contemporaries found Hicks' approach too stern. Others felt that this was indeed a time for sternness.

Maryland readers of this work will be interested in the many religious journeys that Hicks made to this state—to the Southern Quarter of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (which included about a dozen meetings in Kent, Caroline, and Talbot Counties on the Eastern Shore), Baltimore, Pipe Creek, Sandy Springs, and other Maryland localities. His observations upon local Friends, Nicholites or "New Quakers," other non-Friends, and upon the land itself are all of historical value and interest. The thorough index in this volume makes it easy to locate persons, places, or events. All in all, this is a superior work.

KENNETH L. CARROLL

Southern Methodist University

Washington and His Neighbors. By CHARLES W. STETSON. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1956. 342 pp. \$5.

It is almost unbelievable that there could be any new material on the subject of George Washington, or that any new arrangement of the old material would be of immediate interest. However, here is a book that fills a gap in the series. It ties together parts of previous books and adds information of a local character. Mr. Stetson in a quiet, unassuming way has boiled down to readability many of Dr. Douglas Freeman's asides and enlarged on many of his footnotes. Besides this, he has done considerable research on land titles of the old estates surrounding Mount Vernon. He has chapters on the vanished towns of Colchester and Dumfries and has looked into the lives of Washington's large family connections and lesser known friends as well as into those of the famous.

In a chronological account, pretty well skimmed of politics and war, seventeen of the twenty-three chapters deal with the local scene—the towns and gentlemen's estates of Prince William and Fairfax Counties. This is the most valuable part of the book which follows closely the entries in the *Washington Diaries*.

Mr. Stetson has worked almost entirely from secondary sources so that the book tends to become a compilation of quotations. But the quotations

are apt and well chosen. It is a pity that he did not avail himself of the manuscript collection at Mount Vernon and so spare himself a few minor errors. But he must be thanked for giving us something new—a readable, well-indexed account of Washington's life as a country gentleman and his social and business contacts with the men and women of his neighboring Virginia.

The illustrations are excellent. The photographs of some of the smaller eighteenth-century houses have never been previously published.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE

The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735-1798. By BROOKE HINDLE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956. xi, 410 pp. \$7.50.

This is the first comprehensive history of American science in the period of the Enlightenment, and it is likely to remain the standard one for a long time, the product of diligent research in manuscript and printed sources by the author. There are not many Americans, or temporary residents in America, between 1735 and 1789, with any record of scientific interest who have not been included in this history, and Hindle has interpreted science in its broadest sense to bring in the practitioners of surveying, agriculture and the crafts wherever they displayed a desire to improve their work through the application of new techniques. Of local interest, Maryland's John Beale Bordley is given a deserved bouquet for his experiments in agriculture and his attempts to promote better agricultural practices.

In the selection of a title for his book Hindle wisely used *pursuit* to describe the nature of scientific activity in this period, for, if Franklin is excepted, the contributions of Americans to the development of the international body of scientific knowledge was slight indeed. In writing the general history of science during this period Franklin would deserve an honorable place for his work on electricity, but other Americans would hardly warrant a footnote. America had so few first-rate scientists in this period that there is a tendency to exaggerate the clever gadgetry of Jefferson and Rittenhouse, the excellent teaching of John Winthrop, and the fine natural history descriptions of Bartram out of all proportion to their basic importance in the development of science. Hindle did not succumb to the temptation to exaggerate achievement. In fact, on the basis of achievement, as he presents them, many of the persons introduced in his history would deserve oblivion.

To understand the significance of this work, it is necessary to reflect for a moment on the tremendous impact science has in our present culture and the leading role this nation now has in science—and then to ask how this came about. Our rise as a major scientific nation commenced with the ante-bellum generation even though our great concerns were still politics, business, agriculture and the taming of the wilderness. But it was in the

years covered by Hindle's book that the desire to follow science as a career was incubated. The impetus of a need comes to nought unless it is accompanied by a belief in the value of meeting it and the will to do so. Had all Americans held science in contempt as a useless pursuit—and many did—our participation in it might have been long delayed. Hindle shows how widespread the faith in progress through science was in the American Enlightenment and how it became one of the fundamental beliefs of our young republic. The importance of the many persons who appear in his book is not their achievement in science, but their unquestioning faith that the pursuit of science was worthwhile. The amount of activity in the pursuit is truly remarkable considering that America was a frontier region and the Atlantic Ocean separated it from the centers of learning. Indeed, areas in the British Isles and on the Continent much closer to these centers showed far less interest in the pursuit of science.

Since Americans were working in the general framework of European scientific objectives, it would have been helpful to the reader if Hindle had pointed up these objectives more sharply. For example, he explains, and well, the popularity of Newtonianism in Enlightenment thought, but from a scientific point of view the Newtonian astronomy did not appear in full flower with the publication of the *Principia*. The distance of the sun from the earth was a fundamental and unresolved problem of celestial measurement in the eighteenth century, and the excitement over the transits of Venus and Mercury resulted from the belief that this yardstick was about to be revealed. The significance of Mason and Dixon's measurement of a degree of longitude along the parallel of latitude they were running was not as great as it would have been half a century earlier when the validity of Newton's entire system was in doubt because measurements in France of a similar kind suggested that the earth was spindle-shaped instead of oblate, as required by Newton's theory. It was still important, however, as the only such measurement in North America. Upon these measurements of a degree of longitude in widely separated places on the earth depended the calculation of the earth's diameter, another basic yardstick of celestial measurement, and a problem which brought forth the greatest scientific expeditions of the century. A more practical corollary of these measurements was the establishment of accurate reference points for map-making. The utilitarian results in cartography had already been brilliantly demonstrated in the eighteenth century to the satisfaction of the maritime nations. Although this kind of background to the activity of the Americans is well-known to Hindle, his failure to include it makes the efforts of colonial scientists appear somewhat aimless. But perhaps space requirements ruled out additional material.

F. C. HABER

The American Pageant, A History of the Republic. By THOMAS A. BAILEY. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1956. xvi, 1007 pp. \$9.

Author of one of the three standard works on American diplomatic history, Professor Bailey has turned his attention in this work to the story of the American achievement in becoming a gigantic and unique democracy. Although adapted for text-book use, the general reader should not pass it over, for it is colorfully written by a master stylist. The narrative flows along smoothly with lively cartoons and lucid maps to illustrate it. Sympathetic, though critical, the author has carried the pageant of our history out of the dull region of commonplace text-books to the level of effortless, graphic reading.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina, Series 1, Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, Sept. 10, 1745—June 17, 1746. Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956. xi, 291 pp. \$8.

This is another volume in the outstanding series of colonial records published by the South Carolina Archives Department. The editing is excellent, and the thorough coverage of this series and other publications of the Archives Department should result in an increase of scholarly activity on colonial South Carolina history. This series alone gives much hitherto inaccessible material for all phases of life and activity in the Colony.

State Records of South Carolina, Journals of the South Carolina Executive Councils of 1861 and 1862. Edited by CHARLES E. CAUTHEN. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956. xv, 336 pp. \$8.

The first of another series in the publication program of the South Carolina Archives Department, this volume presents the journals of the two executive councils that functioned in South Carolina shortly after the state seceded from the Union on December 20, 1860. The series will make available documents in the national period. Because of the lively interest in Confederate history which is current today, the publication of the official records of one of the most secession-minded states will undoubtedly have a wide reading. The editor, author of *South Carolina Goes to War*, is an authority on the history of these critical years.

Should there be any doubt about the South Carolina Archives Department taking the leadership in this country at the present time in her program of publishing state records, attention should also be called to *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South*

Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution, Book K. Edited by WYLMA ANNE WATES. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956. vii, 60 pp. *South Carolina Bibliographies No. 4. Articles in Periodicals and Serials on South Carolina Literature and Related Subjects, 1900-1955.* By HENNIG COHEN. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956. viii, 81 pp.

Through All These Years: the Story of the Roland Park Country School 1901-1956. By JANE TINSLEY SWOPE. [Baltimore, 1956] 80 pp.

Since 1901, Roland Park Country School has been an important institution in the lives of many young Marylanders. In celebration of its fiftieth anniversary Jane Tinsley Swope has written a pleasant review of the school's history. Many familiar names of leading people in the state, especially in Baltimore, appear in the story. The chapter on "Headmistresses" gives short biographies of Bertha Chapman, Nanna Duke Dushane, Elizabeth M. Castle, and Anne Healy. The book has many fine illustrations and should evoke pleasant memories in the minds of many of our readers.

History of St. Michael's Parish. By ANNA ELLIS HARPER. [Easton,] 1956. 62 pp. \$3.

The author of this work has done a fine job in narrating the history of St. Michael's Parish. The parish dates back to the seventeenth century and through the pages of the book appears much Talbot County history. Mrs. Harper has made a diligent search of court house and vestry records and brought them to life in her history.

Our readers may be interested to know that F. Van Wyck Mason has written another historical novel in which some of the setting is placed in Maryland. *Our Valiant Few* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1956, \$3.95) deals with the South's efforts to break the Union Naval Blockade. Ironclad rams, federal gun boats and monitors, duels with Confederate shore batteries and blockade runners outracing their pursuers provide much of the action in the book.

Two books written for children on Maryland subjects will be read by many parents. One is the story of a little Indian princess who actually lived in Maryland in the early days of colonization, by Mrs. Nan Hayden Agle (*Princess Mary of Maryland*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956. \$2.50). Princess Mary was the daughter of the Emperor of the Piscataway Indians. She married Giles Brent, one of the original colonists, and was baptized by Father Andrew White. The book is

brilliantly illustrated by Aaron Sopher, who needs no introduction in Maryland. The other juvenile based on Maryland history is Maud Esther Dilliard's *Aboy, Peggy Stewart!* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1956. \$2.50). The hero of the story is eight-year old Toby Seymour, but the Peggy Stewart incident is the central theme. The line drawings by Lorence F. Bjorklund add to the dramatic effect of the narrative.

The *Twenty-ninth Report, Society For The History Of The Germans in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1956) contains the following excellent articles: "Egg Harbor City: New Germany in New Jersey," by Dieter Cunz; "German Immigrants and Nativism in Virginia 1840-1860," by Klaus G. Wust; "Einhorn and Szold: Two Liberal German Rabbis in Baltimore," by Eitel Wolf Dobert; "The Goethe Societies of Baltimore and Washington," by Augustus J. Prahl. "The Bicentennial of Zion Church in Baltimore," by Hans-Ludwig Wagner; "A Mencken Reminiscence," by A. E. Zucker. The articles in this series, as usual, are scholarly and interesting, but it is unfortunate that the historical articles by members of the Society appear as a *Society Report*. The publication deserves a much wider reading, and the forbidding aspect of *Report* on the cover is not likely to attract many new readers.

A useful tool for all researchers in Virginia history is Volume XXV of the *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library*. This volume by Wilmer L. Hall is Part V of "A Bibliography of Virginia," and contains the titles of the printed documents of the commonwealth, 1916-1925.

The Walters Art Gallery has published a *Catalogue of the American Works of Art, Including French Medals Made for America*, by Edward S. King and Marvin C. Ross (Baltimore, 1956), 63 pp. \$2.00. Previous publications listing the American works of art in the Walters Art Gallery were Marvin Chauncey Ross and Anna Wells Rutledge's *Catalogue of the Works of William Henry Rinehart, Maryland Sculptor, 1825-1875* (Baltimore, 1948) and Mr. Ross's *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller, 1837* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1951). This attractive volume completes the publication of the Gallery's American material in catalogue form.

For many years the Director of the Maryland Historical Society, James W. Foster, has been doing research on Fielding Lucas, Jr., (1781-1854), an important Baltimore book publisher. Lucas was influential in the life of Baltimore in the early nineteenth century and especially so through his publishing adventures. The life of Lucas and his contributions as an American publisher are brought into sharp focus by Mr. Foster in "Fielding Lucas, Jr., Early 19th Century Publisher of Fine Books and Maps," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October 1955*, pages 161-212. Reprints are available from the author.

An admirable genealogical study of interest in Maryland and Virginia is Robert Howe Fletcher, Jr.'s *Genealogical Sketch of Certain of the American Descendants of Mathew Talbot, Gentleman* (Richmond, 1956). The sketch is accompanied by four large folding charts and contains much Talbot family data. Copies may be obtained from the author at Leesburg, Virginia, for \$2.00.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Research Facilities on George Washington—The research material acquired by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association for use in the restoration work undertaken since the Association became the preserver and guardian of the home and tomb of George Washington in 1859, has formed the basis of a reference library at Mount Vernon. The primary fields of interest are the personal and domestic life of Washington, his family, and their friends and neighbors, as well as eighteenth century Virginia architecture, horticulture, agriculture, and the domestic arts and crafts, as they relate to Mount Vernon.

The library includes some sixteen hundred manuscripts, and about one thousand photostat copies of manuscripts. It also has about three thousand reference volumes, including the Jackson Collection of Washington eulogies, biographies, etc., a large and fairly complete collection of early views of Mount Vernon, blueprints and maps, and a rather extensive file of newspaper articles, postcards, and other ephemera. General Washington's library is represented by about three hundred and fifty titles, consisting of original volumes, duplicate editions, and association items.

The library is primarily used by the Association staff as an aid in the restoration work at Mount Vernon, but students and scholars are cordially welcomed to use its resources. Inquiries may be addressed to:

Librarian, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association
Mount Vernon, Virginia.

Governor Richard Caswell—The State of North Carolina is erecting a memorial to Governor Richard Caswell, who was a native of Maryland but removed to North Carolina as a young man and had an exceptionally brilliant career there during and after the Revolutionary War. He won fame as a soldier and was the first governor of the State of North Carolina after the Declaration of Independence. He is the only North Carolina governor of whom there is no known portrait. His family was of some importance in Maryland before and after the Revolutionary War period, and it is hoped that there may be somewhere in Maryland a sketch or portrait of this distinguished son of the Free State. If anyone has knowledge of such a portrait, kindly communicate with Col. Paul A. Rockwell, 142 Hillside Street, Asheville, North Carolina, who is a member of the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission.

Cox—I have certain records of Dr. C. C. Cox in my possession, and have recently read the book *Woman with a Sword* in which the credit for keeping Maryland in the Union is given to Anna Ella Carroll. The late Francis M. Tilghman (a grandson of General Tench Tilghman and also of Dr. Cox) held tenaciously to the opinion that it was the influence of Dr. Cox with Governor Hicks that was responsible for Maryland not seceding. Francis M. Tilghman was reared by Dr. Cox, came to Australia with him in 1879, and knew him very intimately. He also assured me that Mrs. Cox, formerly a Northrop of Hartford, threw her great abilities and no small influence, into the scales on the side of the North. As a great-grandson of Dr. Cox, I should be glad to know more of the cross currents at work in Maryland in 1861-64, and perhaps some member of the Society has information of interest, and which would throw fresh light on the influences brought to bear on Governor Hicks. Had Maryland seceded, I should think that Mr. Lincoln's war against the South would have resulted in a victory for the Confederacy. So far as I can gather, a majority of Marylanders sympathized with the South, many enlisting in its armies, and it would appear that only armed force kept the State in the Union. For using this force, the governor was responsible, but who was really behind him?

DOUGLAS C. TILGHMAN,
Albert Street, Berry, N. S. W. Australia.

Church History—I am doing research in American Church History which includes Colonial Maryland. I would be most grateful to any person who supplies information regarding the location of papers of any of the following men who attended a Church Convention at Chestertown, Kent Co., in November, 1780:

Vestrymen of St. Paul's Parish, Kent County: Col. Richard Lloyd, James Dunn, John Page, Richard Miller, Simon Wickes. Vestrymen of Chester Parish, Kent County: Dr. John Scott, John Bolton, J. W. Tilden, St. Leger Everett, James Wroth. Churchwardens of Chester Parish: John Kennard, ——— Sturgess. Vestrymen of Shrewsbury Parish, South Sassafras, Kent County: Christopher Hall, George Moffett, William Keating. Churchwarden of Shrewsbury: ——— C———. Vestrymen of St. Luke's, Queen Anne's County: John Brown, ——— Downs. Parish affiliations unknown: Dr. William Bordly, Dr. ——— Van Dyke, Col. Isaac Perkins, Carles Groom, William Keene, James Hackett.

ROBERT W. SHOEMAKER,
History Department, RPI, Troy, New York.

CONTRIBUTORS

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN is the great-granddaughter of John Knight, Pratt's correspondent. She is now preparing for publication the travel diaries of John Knight. ☆ BINGHAM DUNCAN, Associate Professor of History at Emory University, has written several articles on Anglo-American tobacco and rice trade. His current research is in American diplomacy and commerce during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. ☆ LEWIS ADDISON BECK, JR., Baltimore businessman, is the great-grandson of Edward H. Bell, one of the builders of the *Seaman* and *Seaman's Bride*. He owns the original painting from which the cover picture was made. ☆ DOUGLAS GORDON is well-known to the readers of the *Magazine*. Among his recent contributions has been the editing of the diary of John M. Gordon (*Md. H. M.*, Sept., 1956, pp. 224-236). ☆ EUGENIA CALVERT HOLLAND and LOUISA MACGILL GARY are members of the Society's staff. ☆ PAUL S. CLARKSON, Baltimore attorney, is co-author of a biography of Luther Martin being readied for publication.

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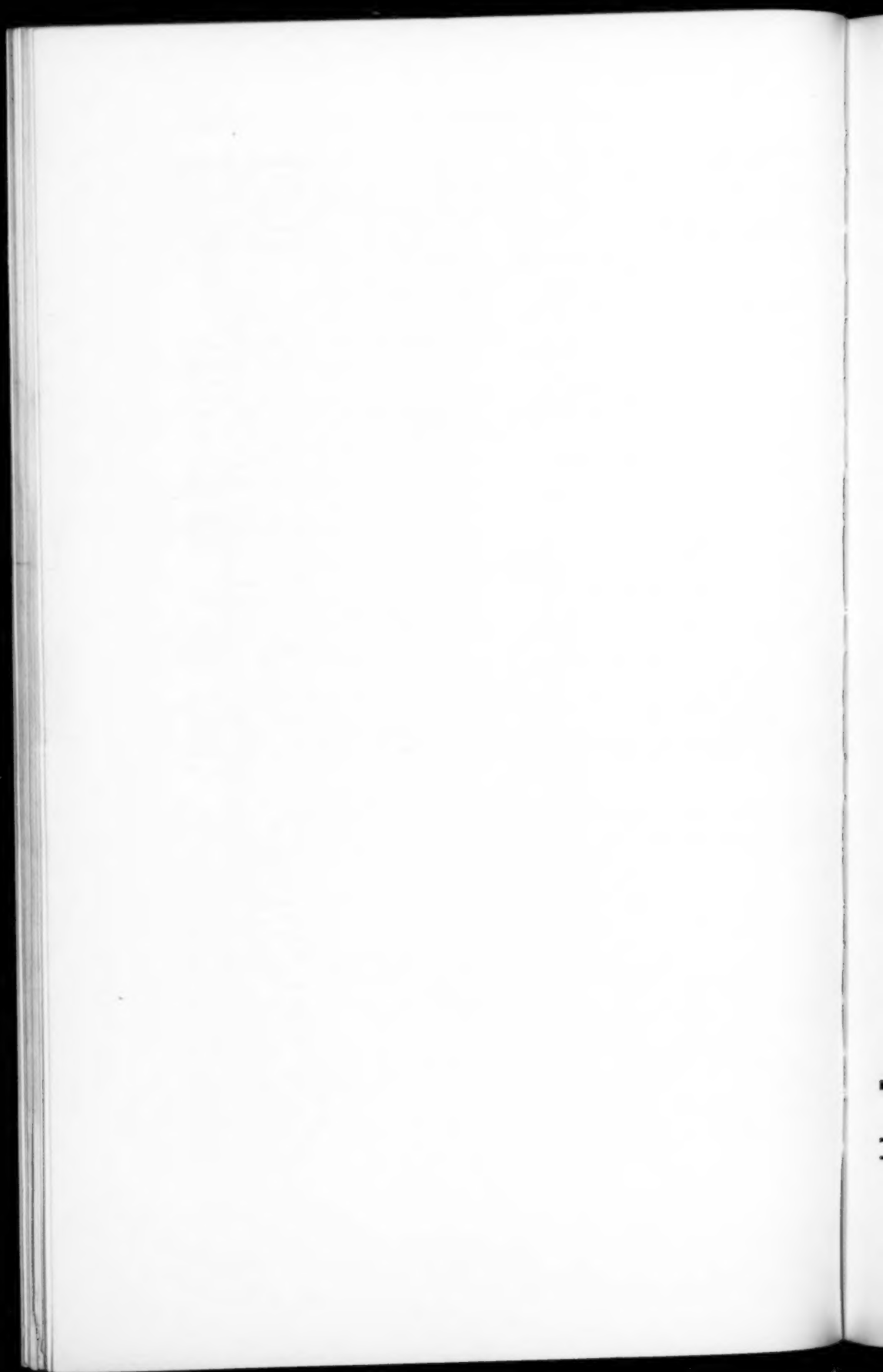
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VOL. 51, No. 4 DECEMBER, 1956

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FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

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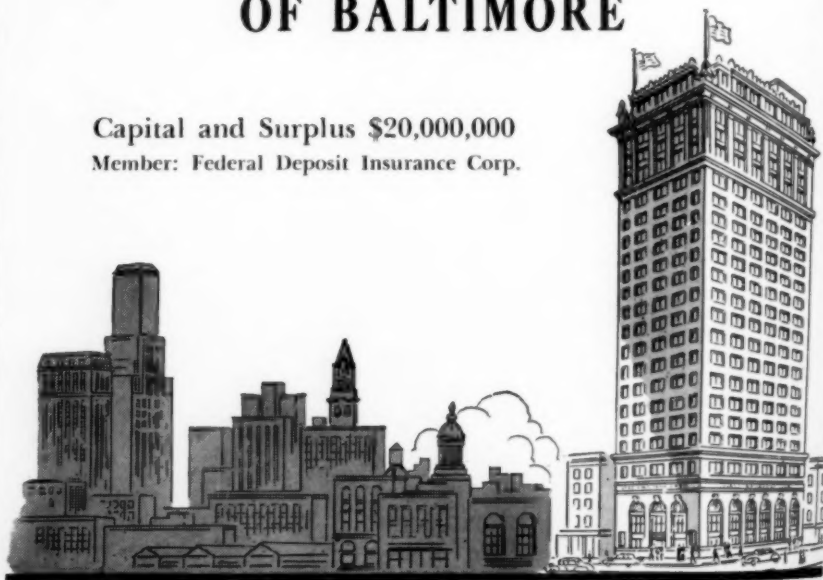
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